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Daily Report

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Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Central African Republic

Kolingba Returns From Franco-African Summit

AB2306073790 Bangui Domestic Service in French
1800 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] His Excellency Major General Andre Kolingba, president of the republic, head of state, and founding chairman of the Central Africa Democratic Rally, returned to Bangui today, Friday 22 June, 1990, early this afternoon after participating in the deliberations of the Franco-African conference held in La Baule, France from 19 to 21 June, 1990.

Gabon

Bongo Returns From Franco-African Summit

AB2506100590 Dakar PANA in English 1432 GMT
24 Jun 90

[Text] Libreville, 24 June [AGP-GAB/PANA]—The Gabonese state will not stop functioning because of the prevailing problems, President Omar Bongo declared in Libreville Sunday on his return from the recently concluded Franco-African Summit in La Baule, France. Addressing newsmen, Bongo confirmed that the next Franco-African Summit in 1992 would be held in Gabon as unanimously decided by the heads of state present at the La Baule Summit, adding: Even if Gabon faces economic difficulties, the 1992 summit will definitely be held in Gabon.

The Gabonese president expressed satisfaction with the outcome of the La Baule summit which ended with favourable measures for African medium revenue countries—Cameroon, Congo, Cote D'Ivoire, and Gabon.

He said the 50 per cent reduction in the interest rates of French loans to Gabon will enable the country to save about four billion CFA francs (more than 13 million US dollars). Speaking about the agreements signed between France and Gabon, Bongo said the issue was not raised, although President Francois Mitterrand of France said the agreements would remain as they are.

Turning to the internal situation, the president said no date has been fixed for the next elections and expressed surprise that people have already started to quit their jobs to start campaigning.

Zaire

Belgian Volunteers Expelled; Consulates Closed

AB2206191490 Paris AFP in English 1802 GMT
22 Jun 90

[Text] Brussels, June 22 (AFP)—Zaire decided Friday to expel all Belgian volunteer workers in response to sanctions imposed by Belgium after a violent crackdown on students in Lubumbashi last month in which more than

100 may have died. President Mobutu Sese Soko also rejected a massive debt writeoff signed last July and cut the number of Belgian Sabena airline flights to Kinshasa from five to two a week, according to Zaire's AZAP news agency quoted by the BELGA news agency.

Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens, coming out of a cabinet meeting Friday, made no immediate comment, saying he would talk to Foreign Minister Mark Eyskens and simply adding that the two countries had "in the past had long and difficult negotiations". A Foreign Ministry spokesman said Belgium "deplored" Zaire's unilateral decision. The expulsions will concern some 700 people since AZAP said others taken in charge by Zaire will be allowed to continue.

The Belgian Government on May 25 froze all state loans to its former colony and cancelled a meeting that would have given shape to cooperation agreements and sealed reconciliation after a long period of acrimony. Last July, Belgium wiped out half of Zaire's government and trade debt, a sum of 11 billion Belgian francs (318.8 million dollars).

AZAP Friday said that Zaire was also closing three of Belgium's four consulates, including that at Lubumbashi, capital of Shaba Province, which lies 1,500 kilometres (930 miles) southeast of Kinshasa. Only the consulate at Matadi on Angola's northern border would remain open.

Mr. Eyskens has said that according to Belgian diplomats in Zaire, "about a dozen" people died when troops carried out a night raid on students at the Lubumbashi campus on May 11. The international human rights organization Amnesty International has, however, said it had reports that security forces killed between 50 and 150 students with machetes and bayonets.

This week the Zairian Government stated that the ex-governor of Shaba, Koyagialo Nagbe Te Gerengbo, who had been transferred to another province after the killings, and ten other top officials would go on trial. They included a Major Lokombe, head of the paramilitary civil guard. A parliamentary commission, which spent 10 days in Lubumbashi, had Monday reported that the massacre was premeditated and of "regional character". It blamed the Shaba authorities, but said it was not possible to determine how many people had died.

Dismissing what he decried as "inaccurate reports" last month, former Governor Koyagialo said there had been clashes between groups of students for and against a march in solidarity with Kinshasa students expelled for violence against members of parliament. He added that one student had died of his wounds and 13 others had been hurt. Catholic priests in Lubumbashi later challenged this version of events, saying in pastoral letter that the trouble began on May 10 when students found that 23 of their number had been "eliminated" and set about three suspects "in an inhuman manner".

Security forces took up positions the next day and that night the power was cut. The parliamentary commission this week concluded that the 11 officials arrested had ordered the raid to punish students after a "kangaroo" trial of three alleged "stool pigeons" from Equateur Province-Marshall Mobutu's northern birthplace. Belgium has called for an international enquiry into the bloodshed, suggesting that the United Nations Commission for Human Rights could play a role.

Relations between the two countries hit a low in November 1988 when Belgian Premier Martens announced steps to ease Zaire's debts, sparking criticism in the press and comment on Marshal Mobutu's human rights record that Kinshasa attacked as "a campaign of hostility and denigration". On Thursday, U.S. legislators in the House of Representatives voted to halt military aid to Zaire in protest at what they described as human rights abuses, corruption, and a failure by Marshal Mobutu to carry out promised reforms.

Government Reacts to Belgian Decision

AB2406172290 Kinshasa AZAP in French 1130 GMT
23 Jun 90

[Text] Kinshasa, 22 Jun (AZAP)—At a meeting yesterday in Goma under the chairmanship of Professor Lunda Bululu, the first commissioner of state, the Executive Council adopted a series of measures, namely the cancellation of the joint commission meeting between Zaire and Belgium in reaction to the Belgian Government's outrageous behavior following the incidents on the Lubumbashi University campus.

In the same vein, according to a report made at the end of the meeting by the cabinet spokesman, the commissioner of state for information [title as received], Lunda Bululu, Zaire has purely and simply rejected any debt reduction initiated by Belgium because the Rabat and Kinshasa agreements were unilaterally broken by the Kingdom of Belgium.

Belgian technical assistance paid by Belgium and all Belgian nongovernmental organizations financed by Belgium have also been suspended. Consequently, all technical assistants in these two categories will be forced to leave Zairian territory. However, those under Zairian Government contracts will be maintained.

These measures, which abide by the golden rules of reciprocity in international relations, affect air transport under which Sabena will now be entitled to only two flights instead of five like other airlines of friendly countries, effective 1 July. For its part, Air Zaire will take the necessary steps to comply with the new situation, by reducing the number of its flights to Brussels from three to two. Here is the text of the report:

Report on the Weekly Executive Council Meeting at Goma on 22 June 1990

The first commissioner of state, Lunda Bululu, today, 22 June 1990, chaired the weekly Executive Council meeting in Goma. Prior to that, the members of the Executive Council heard two important messages from the president of the republic who is currently in Goma. These messages are on both the country's internal and external situation.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of Zaire's independence, it has been decided to organize a military parade in Lubumbashi. The head of state will address the nation from this same town.

On Zaire's external situation, the Executive Council's attention was focused on the Kingdom of Belgium's outrageous behavior toward institutions in the Republic of Zaire following incidents on the Lubumbashi University campus.

After examining the state of relations between Belgium and Zaire, the Executive Council reached the following conclusions:

The Government of the Kingdom of Belgium has adopted an attitude that is contrary to the Rabat spirit and the cooperation agreements signed on 27 March 1990 in Kinshasa.

In fact, in their attitude, the Belgian authorities went to the extent of demanding the dispatch of an international investigating team to Zaire, as if our country were an extension of Belgium, a country whose leaders carry their interference to the point of doubting the credibility and honor of our parliamentarians who were democratically elected by the people who, in any case, recently renewed their full trust in them during the two-month tour undertaken by the president of the Republic as part of the popular consultation.

Zaire is neither in a state of emergency nor in a state of siege. It was therefore this same parliament which the government requested to send an investigating team to all the regions where incidents were recorded at university campuses.

The Executive Council notes that if the Belgian authorities were really interested in seeking the truth and had a sense of justice, they could have, before taking a stand, waited for the Zairian parliamentary commission to publish its report and recommendations. But nothing of the sort happened. On the contrary, the Government of the Kingdom of Belgium continued to display an insulting and scornful attitude toward Zairian institutions. Such an attitude is tantamount to provocation which demands the Government of Zaire to put up appropriate reactions and clarifications that the gravity of the situation demands. Therefore:

1. Concerning the Belgian Government's decision to freeze the Belgian-Zaire Joint Commission of Cooperation meeting, Zaire's stand is as follows: There will no longer be a joint commission between Zaire and Belgium.

2. Concerning state to state loans, the suspension of which the Belgian authorities have announced, the public should know that for the past 18 months Zaire has not received a single franc from Belgium. It has not died of that, however, and it will never die of it either. On this issue, Zaire feels that the Belgian Kingdom has broken, ipso facto, the Rabat and Kinshasa agreements, thus going back to square one. This therefore means that Zaire purely and simply rejects the debt reduction initiated by the Kingdom of Belgium since the Rabat and Kinshasa agreements were unilaterally broken by the Kingdom of Belgium.

3. Concerning the incidents on the three university campuses and in some institutes of higher learning, there is proof of Belgian involvement, namely at Lubumbashi, Mbandaka, and Bukavu. Though Zaire has only one consulate in the whole of the Belgian Kingdom, at Anvers, it has been noted that several Belgian consulates, with very dubious activities, have been opened in Zaire's regional capitals. Consequently, while waiting for future arrangements, the Republic of Zaire terminates the very existence of these consulates as of 1 July 1990. In fact, Zaire notes that in international relations reciprocity is the golden rule.

4. Concerning air transport cooperation, Zaire is ending the special arrangement which had hitherto been enjoyed by Sabena. Indeed, where airlines of friendly countries (UTA for France, Lufthansa for the FRG, Swissair for Switzerland, and Tap for Portugal) have only two weekly flights, Sabena, the Belgian airline, has five. As of 1 July, this arrangement will be terminated and Sabena will only be entitled to the same number of flights as the other airlines. It goes without saying that our national airline, Air Zaire, will have to take the necessary steps to bring its operations in line with the new situation, which means reducing the number of its flights to Brussels from three to two.

5. The fifth measure concerns Belgian technical assistance to Zaire. Generally speaking, Zaire blames the Belgian technical assistants for nothing. Nonetheless, considering that Belgium is making every effort to use this technical cooperation as a means of pressuring the Zairian state, Zaire has decided to end the Belgian-paid technical assistance and all the Belgian nongovernmental organizations financed by the Belgian Government. In other words, all the technical assistants falling in these two categories will be compelled to leave Zairian territory. On the other hand, Zaire retains all the Belgian technical assistants working in Zaire on the Zairian Government payroll. This equally applies to Belgian citizens operating in the private sector.

The Executive Council stresses that Zaire, land of warm reception and hospitality, will continue to guarantee the security of all Belgians not affected by the measures taken today in reaction to the decisions of the Government of the Kingdom of Belgium. Furthermore, the Executive Council has instructed all state commissioners concerned in the implementation of these measures, which constitute Zaire's counterstroke to the provocative action and the denigration and mind poisoning being orchestrated against the honor of Zaire. The state commissioner for foreign affairs was instructed to immediately inform, using the most appropriate channels, the Belgian Government of the decisions which have just been made.

After the two major communications, the Executive Council meeting continued its normal course under the chairmanship of the first state commissioner Prof. Lunda Bululu. Before tackling the items on the agenda, the head of government reported to the Executive Council members on his mission at the meeting held in La Baule, France, where he represented the head of state at the 16th Franco-African Conference of Heads of State and Government. The first state commissioner briefed members of the Executive Council on his remarks at La Baule conference on the democratization process, an issue which generated heated debate during which the first state commissioner stated Zaire's position on the matter. Prof. Lunda Bululu also briefed members of the Executive Council on contacts he made with various personalities who attended the conference at La Baule.

The Executive Council members then listened to reports presented by the state commissioner responsible for higher education, the universities, and scientific research; the state commissioner for public works, territorial planning, urbanization, and housing; and the state commissioner for agriculture and rural and community development.

The higher education, universities, and scientific research state commissioner gave a status report on the situation at the country's universities and institutions of higher learning. The Executive Council noted that even though classes had actually resumed at the institutions of higher learning, the situation at the universities, especially at the University of Kinshasa, was quite different. The government decided to take up this issue once more at its special meeting to be held on 25 June 1990.

The public works, territorial planning, urbanization, and housing state commissioner reported on the situation currently prevailing at the Mpasu One site, located three kilometers from the Ndjili airport, which had to receive victims of the torrential rains of 21 May 1990 and other citizens of the town living within the disaster zone. Having taken note of the situation—and upon the joint recommendation of the state commissioner for public works, territorial planning, urbanization, and housing and the state commissioner for lands—the Executive Council decided, among others:

- the immediate evacuation from the Mpsa One site of all squatters and the demolition of the shacks constructed there;
- the speedy start, by 1 July 1990 at the latest, of the development of Mpsa One, along with the opening and equipment of access roads by the Highways and Drainage Office as well as the provision of a few public water points by the Water and Power Distribution Administration. Furthermore, a development commission for this site was set up.

Last, the state commissioner for agriculture and rural and community development presented to the Executive Council a preliminary report of the interdepartmental commission on the situation at the Agricultural Credit Bank, BCA. The Council, which took note of this report, instructed the said commissioner to continue the consultations and give it a final report soon. Before declaring the meeting closed, the first state commissioner informed the members of the Council that since 24 June, "Fish Day", falls on a Sunday, Saturday, 23 June, had been declared a paid holiday to be observed nationwide.

Thank you.

Parliament Effects Constitutional Amendments

*AB2506071090 Paris AFP in French 2035 GMT
22 Jun 90*

[Text] Kinshasa, 22 Jun (AFP)—Zairian parliamentarians have just amended certain articles of their country's constitution in order to adapt it to the political openness declared in April this year by Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko and aimed at ushering in the multiparty system in Zaire, official sources disclosed on Friday, 22 June.

The parliamentarians, who examined these constitutional reforms for two weeks, adopted by a large majority

the amendment of certain provisions of the Constitution to streamline it with the new Zairian political direction. It was by 167 votes in favor, four against, and 19 abstentions that the 190 parliamentarians adopted about 60 amended articles which are expected, in the near future, to enable the enactment of a law establishing a multiparty system in the country. These amendments centered mainly on the possible establishment of a three-party system in Zaire in line with the wishes of the head of state as expressed in his 24 April speech. During the often heated debates, however, several parliamentarians expressed regret that the number of political organizations should be limited to three.

The reforms also define the role of the transitional government, which is "charged with determining the policy of the state by mutual agreement with the president," who answers to Parliament. The establishment of a multitrade union system was also covered by some of the amendments made by the parliamentarians who, next week, will examine the bill on the functioning and funding of new political parties.

New Shaba Governor Konde Assumes Office

*AB2406171090 Kinshasa AZAP in French 1220 GMT
22 Jun 90*

[Text] Lubumbashi, 21 Jun (AFP)—The new governor of Shaba, citizen Konde Vila Kikanda, has expressed his determination to work toward the development of the region with the cooperation of the both the administrative executives and the entire Lubumbashi population, which he looked forward to serving with devotion and patriotism. Governor Konde said this recently during a ceremony at which he took over from his successor. The latter made it a point to thank the inhabitants of Shaba for the support and assistance given him throughout his five-year term of office as governor of the region.

Ethiopia

Government Proclaims 'General Mobilization'

AB2506202290 Paris AFP in English 2003 GMT
25 Jun 90

[Text] Addis Ababa, June 25 (AFP)—Ethiopia on Monday proclaimed a general mobilization to defend the country's security and territorial integrity, national radio reported.

The move came after four days of deliberations in the National Shengo (assembly) on the current security situation, which was described as threatening to deteriorate into civil war.

A nationwide radio broadcast said the Shengo had resolved that "recruitment and training be continued on a broader base and that a dependable reserve force be put in place".

The Shengo's resolution declared that the EPLF (Eritrean People's Liberation Front) secessionists and the TPLF (Tigray People's Liberation Front) insurgent group, who collaborate with them, had rejected all moves to bring them to the negotiating table and threatened to engulf the whole country in civil war.

Former members of the ground force, the police, other units of security organizations who had been retired or had left services for various reasons as well as all other able-bodied men were called upon to be ready for the national call.

The Shengo also directed that appropriate programmes be worked out to mobilize financial and material resources, which the entire population was called upon to contribute to the war effort.

At the same time, the Shengo called for the continuation of peace efforts and that the opportunity of finding a peaceful resolution of the conflict in northern Ethiopia should not be lost if the opposition could be brought to the negotiating table. It directed the State Council to prepare the necessary legal provisions aimed at facilitating a peaceful resolution of the problem.

EPLF Radio Reacts to Mengistu Speech

EA2406221590 (Clandestine) Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Amharic 1630 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Preservation of the Eritrean people's basic rights will save Ethiopia from danger, not put it in danger. In his marathon lament, cries, and lies to the fourth regular congress of the National Shengo, dictator Colonel Mengistu emphasized that Eritrea's secession will put Ethiopia in danger. [passage omitted]

For 10 years the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] has been proposing a genuine and peaceful resolution, that of according the Eritrean people their right to self-determination and to express their wishes, but the colonel's regime has never agreed to accept this

proposal. On the contrary, the regime decided to hijack the Eritrean people's right by adapting it to suit its own interests, pretending to give the people a mandate, but saying: You will agree to what I choose for you. According to that right to self-determination, the Eritrean people are fully entitled to federate, to have regional autonomy within Ethiopia or independence. The Eritrean people chose independence rather than regional autonomy or federation. That choice is their inalienable right and no one can dispute it. The danger or damage thereby posed to Ethiopia, as the colonel tries to portray, does not exist.

Everyone knows that Ethiopia was an independent state, unendangered and undamaged, before it annexed Eritrea. If problems such as access to the sea arise, they can be solved amicably by discussing them with the neighboring Eritrean people in a spirit of good neighborliness. Meanwhile, there is no reason to suppress Eritrean people's rights and wishes just because Ethiopia has some problems. [passage omitted]

What is clear is that the Dergue regime's downfall will ensure the development of peace and prosperity of Ethiopia.

Shengo Form Commission on Peace, Economy

EA2406232590 Addis Ababa in English to Neighboring Countries 1530 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Text] The fourth regular congress of the National Shengo has set up two provisional commissions yesterday which will draft major recommendations as regards to the economy, peace, and political issues. The two provisional commissions have begun their work as from yesterday afternoon. The chairman of the provisional commission for economic affairs is Comrade Fasika Sidelil, while Comrade Tekola Dejene is secretary and Comrade Mersie Ejigu, rapporteur. Comrade Berhanu Bayeh is chairman of the provisional commission for peace and political affairs, while Comrade Ashagre Yigletu and Comrade Bililign Mandefro are its secretary and rapporteur, respectively.

The deliberations of the Shengo in the past three days focused on the economic sector, during which deputies and observers representing various sectors of the society stressed the critical role the economy plays at present and the grave issues affecting the country and said that every citizen should be committed to support this sector as the decisive struggle on the war front. It was also pointed out that private entrepreneurs were expected to do economic ventures by taking advantage of the opportunities deriving from a mixed economy.

Regarding the situation in the northern part of the country, President Mengistu stated that in spite of the injustice the EPLF [Eritrean People's Liberation Front] separatist and Weyane groups are committing, as always the government's search for peace will continue. He said that everything possible will be done to the extent the

government's capacity permits to ensure that food supplies reach the inhabitants of Asmera, who now find themselves in a very difficult situation ever since the port of Mitsiwa is blocked.

In line with the explanations given by President Mengistu, the people's deputies and representatives taking part in the congress have proposed for the continuation of efforts towards peace and emphasized that (?keen attention) ought to be given to the task of strengthening the Revolutionary Army both in men and material to withstand the destruction brought in unison by the two antipeople groups.

Foreign Minister Briefs Envoys on Shengo Session

EA2206204490 Addis Ababa in English to Neighboring Countries 1530 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Resident ambassadors of different countries were briefed here in Addis Ababa today on major issues under discussion by the fourth regular congress of the National Shengo. The briefing was given by Comrade Tesfaye Dinka, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the WPE [Workers Party of Ethiopia], deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, who described the efforts exerted by the government to resolve peacefully the fratricidal war in the northern part of the country and the negative response by the antiunity and antipeace elements.

Comrade Tesfaye said the Shengo would devote special attention to the search for peace and other matters which are of serious concern to the people. Comrade Tesfaye stated that although the Ethiopian Government, because of its ardent desire to bring about lasting peace in the country, had several times negotiated with the opposition groups, they have recently opted to resort to war, thereby blocking the prospect for peace.

Comrade Tesfaye explained to the ambassadors that the Shengo session, which was opened by Comrade Mengistu Haile-Mariam, focused on the country's objective reality and the government's overall development policy.

It would also review the destructive and inhuman activities of the separatist groups and examine measures to be taken in the future.

Comrade Tesfaye also stated that apart from the approving of the country's 1990-91 fiscal year budget, it would give directives on the implementation of different development projects prepared in line with the new socioeconomic policy.

Tanzania

Mwinyi: Take October Elections 'Seriously'

EA2606100490 Dar es Salaam External Service in English 0410 GMT 25 Jun 90

[From the press review]

[Text] Tanzanians should take October polls seriously, says Mwinyi, from the DAILY NEWS. Register for the election, calls Mwinyi, says UHURU. Each paper disclosed that President Ali Hassan Mwinyi yesterday called on eligible Tanzanians to turn out in large numbers to register and elect leaders of their choice during the general elections in October this year. Addressing the residents of Ngeta Division in Kilombero District at the end of his tour of the Korea-Tanzania agricultural project, Ndugu [Comrade] Mwinyi said, Tanzanians should take the election seriously.

Uganda

Museveni Returns From Franco-African Summit

EA2206233390 Kampala Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Excerpts] President Yoweri Museveni has returned home from La Baule, France, where he had been attending the 16th meeting of the Franco-African Summit. The president arrived this afternoon and was met at Entebbe International Airport by the minister of internal affairs, Mr. Ibrahim Mukiibi. [passage omitted] On his way home, President Museveni made a stopover in Tripoli, Libya.

Mandela Addresses UN Committee 22 June

*MB2206183590 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1821 GMT 22 Jun 90*

[Text] New York June 22 SAPA—ANC [African National Congress] Deputy President Nelson Mandela on Friday [22 June] urged the United Nations member countries to maintain the unity they had achieved in the UN Declaration last year to maintain pressure on South Africa until change away from apartheid was irreversible and profound.

In a keynote address to the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid in the General Assembly Chamber, he paid tribute to the efforts so far of member countries around the world to end the apartheid system, which was a tyrannical crime against human rights.

"We are at the point today where we can say that victory in the struggle for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa is within our grasp.

"We must once more urge all these (world) forces that they should maintain their unity around the perspectives contained in the United Nations and Harare Declarations on South Africa last December.

"How fast we progress towards liberation will depend on how successful we are in our efforts to sustain that united resolve. The distance we have to travel is not long...let us travel it together. Our common victory is assured," Mr Mandela said.

Mr Mandela reiterated in some detail the African National Congress's message to the outside world that pressure should be maintained on the South African Government and that no sanctions should be lifted.

Referring to the Groote Schuur meeting with the government in May, the ANC leader said the process towards democracy in South Africa had begun with agreement on removing obstacles to full negotiation.

"(But) a lot remains to be done before it can be said a climate conducive to negotiations has been created...we still have a long way to go.

"The fact that a good beginning has been made in Cape Town should not lead us to conclude further good progress is assured."

Mr Mandela repeated his belief in the integrity of President F.W. de Klerk and that they would carry out fully agreements reached with the ANC.

It was however the continued on South Africa that had convinced the government in the end that the cost of maintaining apartheid was too high. [sentence as received] This pressure should be maintained.

Mr Mandela also made a point in his address of associating himself and the ANC with the Palestinian Liberation Organization and the Polisario Liberation Front in Western Sahara as kindred brothers in arms in the freedom struggle.

"We also take the opportunity to extend warm greetings to all others who are fighting for their liberation and their human rights, including the people of Palestine and Western Sahara.

After prolonged applause at this statement from the hundreds of people in the chamber, Mr Mandela continued.

"We commend their struggle to you, convinced that we are all moved by the fact that freedom is indivisible...convinced that the denial of the rights of one (person) diminishes the freedom of others."

Before his speech, Mr Mandela met UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar for a private half hour meeting.

On July 1, the secretary general will present to the United Nations a special report on progress made within South Africa on the conditions laid down in the UN Declaration last December.

Mr Mandela told the assembly he was looking forward to the report, but emphasised his view that nothing had happened in South Africa in the meantime which gave any reason for the UN to review its position.

Earlier in the morning, on the third day of his visit to New York, at the start of a 10-day tour across the United States, Mr Mandela met leading businessmen and industrialists at the World Trade Centre, and it was understood part of the discussions focussed on foreign capital investment potential in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Mr Mandela was scheduled to leave New York early on Saturday morning for Boston, where he will address another public rally and meet Senator Edward Kennedy, a leading figure in the anti-apartheid movement in America.

To Meet With President Bush

*MB2506100090 Johannesburg THE DAILY MAIL
in English 25 Jun 90 pp 1, 2*

[By Mark Gevisser and Gideon Rachman]

[Text] Nelson Mandela faces a gruelling session with U.S. President George Bush today, with strong hints from the White House that Bush is ready to relax sanctions against South Africa.

Herman Cohen, assistant secretary of state for African affairs, said in an interview with THE DAILY MAIL that Bush is close to easing sanctions. The administration, he said, would like to lift some embargoes as an incentive for the South African government to continue reforms.

Sanctions will be the main topic on the agenda today as Mandela has framed his trip around the tightening of embargos against Pretoria until apartheid has been dismantled.

Cohen said the Bush administration also wants to discuss with Mandela "the status of negotiations, why they are going so slowly, what the prospects for progress are, and how we can help".

The African National Congress [ANC] leader is expected to be taken to task over his embrace of the Palestine Liberation Organization's Yassir 'Arafat, Cuba's Fidel Castro and Libya's Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi—U.S. enemies whom he has called his "comrades in arms".

Mandela will then address a joint sitting of the U.S. congress, a rare honour that signals the completion of the ANC's long march towards international legitimacy.

Cohen indicated to THE DAILY MAIL that U.S. concern over communist influence on the ANC—previously the biggest single source of criticism of the organization—would not be a major issue. "We are concerned about it, although we're not going to let it guide our attitude to the ANC," he said.

He indicated this concern will be expressed in discussions "about economic models". The U.S. would express "our view that the Marxist model followed by many African countries and Eastern European countries has clearly failed and we would hope that they would not be looking at those as guides for our future"—offered as advice, not as a threat.

Bush has publicly stated that the 1986 Anti-Apartheid Act forbids him from lifting sanctions yet, but has added that "I'd like to find a way to show Mr de Klerk that we, in the United States, are grateful that he is having South Africa evolve to a much more open society".

The Americans have been impressed by Mandela's conciliatory manner and have put a lot of faith in his apparent rapport with President F.W. de Klerk. But they have been taken aback by the vehemence with which the ANC leader has insisted on the maintenance of sanctions.

For the United States to lift sanctions, four of five conditions laid out in the Anti-Apartheid Act have to be fulfilled. The conditions are that Pretoria lift the State of Emergency, release all political prisoners, enter into negotiations aimed at ending apartheid, repeal key apartheid laws and unban all political parties.

Cohen says only two conditions remain to be fulfilled—the complete lifting of the State of Emergency and the release of all political prisoners. And he adds that he believes these conditions will soon be met.

But however strong Bush's desire to encourage De Klerk's reform moves, there is a world of difference between being legally authorised to lift sanctions and actually doing so. For the Bush administration, South African sanctions are not just a legal question—they are above all a question of politics.

Bush and Secretary of State James Baker know if they attempt to lift sanctions, they will encounter fierce political resistance in Congress. Bush entered the White House determined to defuse South Africa as a political issue in the United States, and this determination is likely to govern his attitude to sanctions.

The adulation with which Mandela has been received in the United States, particularly by black Americans, makes it politically extremely difficult for the president to lift sanctions. This is an election year in the United States and the Republican Party is keen to make inroads among black voters, who traditionally vote Democrat.

If the Bush administration does decide to ease sanctions, it will probably wait until after November's congressional elections. The announcement could then be timed to coincide with a rescheduled visit by De Klerk.

The decision not to ease sanctions for the moment will come as something of a blow for Cohen. He is known to have argued strongly for a gesture to be made to bolster De Klerk's position. In particular he has advocated that, at a minimum, South Africa Airways landing rights be restored in the United States.

Cohen and White House chief of staff, John Sununu, were allowed to float trial balloons suggesting that sanctions might be relaxed. But a strong adverse public reaction persuaded the Bush administration that such a move would be unwise.

But while sanctions are unlikely to be lifted for the present, they will also not be strengthened. Congressman Ron Dellums, the sponsor of the most stringent sanctions measures, is believed to have told De Klerk he will not push further sanctions measures for the moment.

Says Talks With Bush 'Successful'

*MB2506194690 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1900 GMT 25 Jun 90*

[Text] The deputy president of the ANC Mr. Nelson Mandela, has described his talks with President George Bush of the United States as successful. Speaking after his talks with President Bush in the White House, Mr. Mandela said they had reached broad agreement on almost all the topics under discussion. He said he and President Bush had begun from opposing viewpoints, but the differences between them had narrowed during their talks. Prior to the talks, President Bush called on all parties in South Africa to abandon the armed struggle.

Holds News Conference on Bush Talks

*MB2606051490 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2132 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[By Mark van der Velden]

[Text] Washington June 25 SAPA—At their White House meeting on Monday [25 June], U.S. President George Bush continued to urge ANC [African National Congress] Deputy President Nelson Mandela to renounce the armed struggle, although he welcomed the African National Congress' intended cessation of hostilities once obstacles to full negotiations with President F.W. de Klerk had been removed.

Although the two also continued to disagree on the question of sanctions, Mr Bush assured Mr Mandela no moves would be made to lift existing measures until conditions listed in 1986 U.S. legislation had been met.

At a press conference in Washington after his three-hour meeting, including lunch with Mr Bush, Mr Mandela said there had been broad agreement on almost every one of a broad range of issues discussed.

"There were one or two issues on which we started from different positions, but at the end I got the distinct impression we narrowed the gaps that existed.

"We are also hopeful that he will be able to respond to our request for financial assistance so that we can undertake the task of mobilising the entire country around the peace process which we, the ANC, have initiated."

Specific aid to the African National Congress was ruled out earlier in the day by U.S. assistant under secretary of state for African affairs, Herman Cohen, who said Mr Bush "indicated we are not likely to be providing assistance to any specific political organisation directly".

Mr Cohen said Mr Mandela had assured Mr Bush he was not calling for the intensification of sanctions.

On his arrival in Washington on Sunday, Mr Mandela said he had come to put the message for sanctions to be intensified.

It was the first he had made this call, as opposed to a call for sanctions to be maintained, for a good number of weeks, during which observers assumed the ANC had dropped its demand for intensification by the international community of its restrictive economic measures.

Mr Mandela said at the press conference he had briefed Mr Bush as fully as possible—before their meeting he said the U.S. President's remarks on the armed struggle showed he had not been properly briefed yet—on the current situation in South Africa, and had indicated what role the United States could play in facilitating the peace process.

"We left the White House feeling that our mission had succeeded, even beyond our wildest expectations."

Asked about the issues on which gaps had been narrowed, Mr Mandela said Mr Bush had felt, on the armed struggle, that "in view of the negotiations that are going on, he would expect us to call for an end to the armed struggle.

"We pointed out to him that this question is no longer an issue."

Since the ANC had in 1986 started urging the government to sit down and talk "we deliberately scaled down our armed operations in order to contribute towards an atmosphere which is conducive to a negotiated settlement.

"Also, in the Harare Declaration we made clear that once the government removed all obstacles to negotiations, we could consider the cessation of hostilities."

This position of the ANC had been reiterated at the May 2 Cape Town meeting with the government.

"When we explained our position on this point, President Bush appeared to understand; we feel we have narrowed the gap that existed between our positions at the beginning (of the talks)."

On the issue of Mr Cohen ruling out specific U.S. funding for the ANC, Mr Mandela said: "We put our position to the president and the government, and our impression is that the president was sympathetic to our appeal for resources."

Mr Mandela continued his schedule later in the afternoon with a meeting with Secretary of State James Baker, at the State Department, for discussions which were expected to concentrate on the nitty gritty of agreements and disagreements during talks with Mr Bush.

On Tuesday, Mr Mandela is scheduled to address a joint congressional meeting on Capitol Hill.

Reportage on Nelson Mandela Visit to Canada

WA2506150490

For reportage on the visit by Nelson Mandela to Canada, please see the Canada section of the 25 June West Europe DAILY REPORT.

Explosion Damages NP Offices in Witwatersrand

*MB2306104790 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1042 GMT 23 Jun 90*

[Text] Pretoria June 23 SAPA—A second explosion has damaged National Party [NP] offices on the Witwatersrand. The explosion occurred at Helderkruid on the West Rand late on Friday night, and police are still investigating.

SA Police Liaison in Pretoria said on Saturday nobody was hurt and damage to the NP office building and the origin of the explosive device used had not yet been established. The first explosion, in which industrial explosives were used, took place on Friday night at the NP Building in Auckland Park. Nobody was hurt but there was extensive damage to the building.

Police liaison said nobody had so far admitted involvement and it could not be ascertained whether there was a link between the two explosions.

Police Official Discusses Bombings

*MB2306150390 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1450 GMT 23 Jun 90*

[Text] Pretoria June 23 SAPA—Nobody had claimed responsibility for explosions on Friday [22 June] night at two National Party [NP] offices near Johannesburg, SA [South African] Police liaison officer Col Frans Malherbe said on Saturday. Police had however noted recent threats of violence against government by various people and organisations, he said.

Commercial explosives were used in both blasts, causing extensive damage to NP offices in Auckland Park and Helderkruijn.

Auckland Park falls within Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha's constituency and Education and Development Aid Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe is MP for Helderkruijn.

On Friday sweeping plans by the ultra-right wing to assassinate, amongst others, government ministers, including Mr Botha, were uncovered.

Strategically planned sabotage leading to an ultimate right-wing coup was also exposed by the Afrikaans Weekly newspaper VRYE WEEKBLAD.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] leader Mr Eugene Terreblanche could not be reached for comment. His wife said he was "on the farm".

Boerestaat [Boer Homeland] Party military leader Mr Andrew Ford was not available either. His daughter said from his Bethlehem, OFS [Orange Free State] home he was in a meeting in the Johannesburg area.

Boerestaat Party political leader Mr Robert van Tonder's son said his father was in a meeting with Mr Ford at his Randburg home. Col Malherbe described the explosion as an "absolutely amateur attempt".

Government reaction to the blasts is expected on Saturday night. Foreign Affairs spokeswoman Ms Alayne Reesberg said efforts were being made to contact both Mr Pik Botha and Transvaal NP leader Mr Barend du Plessis.

Pik Botha Comments

*MB2306174690 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1634 GMT 23 Jun 90*

[Excerpts] Johannesburg June 23 SAPA—Ultra-rightwing groups which recently stated their intention of taking up arms to fight for the reinstatement of former Boer republics, refused to speak to the press on Saturday [22 June] following Friday night's explosions at two National Party [NP] offices near Johannesburg. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, a Foreign Affairs spokesperson said Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha expressed "revulsion" on hearing about the explosions. "Violence cannot decide South Africa's future," the minister said.

According to his spokesperson, Mr Botha had nothing further to add.

Two government ministers on Saturday [23 June] night claimed right-wing elements were responsible for the explosions which rocked two National Party offices in the Johannesburg area on Friday night.

Meanwhile ultra-rightwing Boerestaat [Boer Homeland] Party leader on Saturday night [as received] telephoned SAPA to deny that either he or his party's military wing, the Boere Weerstandsbeweging [Resistance Movement] were responsible for the explosions.

Education and Development Aid Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe and Constitutional Development and National Education Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer told SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation]-TV news they suspected right wing involvement in the blasts. They did not specify which of the numerous rightwing organisations they believed to be responsible.

Dr van der Merwe, also the MP for Helderkruijn where one of the explosions occurred said the explosions appeared to be "a logical consequence of the incitement to violence in rightist circles". He said this was distressing but not unexpected and that the government would not let incidents such as this change its present course.

Mr Meyer said: "In terms of previous experience we know we can expect such action from people in the right wing." Jokingly saying he was pleased not to be behind bars yet, Mr van der Tonder said he has no knowledge of the explosions but from what he'd heard on the news, and he denied his party's involvement in the incidents.

He said, however, he was surprised the rightwing had been blamed for the explosions and condemned action taken over the past week against right wing members. Eleven people were detained and later released in terms of the Criminal Procedures Act this week.

"The National Party has the jitters. They are a minority regime, a minority of the minority. The election result in

Umlazi showed also that the majority of voters were against them," Mr van der Tonder said.

"They are scared of us and their continued action against the rightwing is a sign they are a government on the way out." He said he had "no idea" why the right wing was being blamed for the explosions, saying he believed the ANC or leftist elements to be responsible.

"If a dog barks in this country, as far as government is concerned, they blame it on a rightist dog."

23 June Press Review on Current Problems, Issues MB2306104090

[Editorial Report]

SATURDAY STAR

Social Services Need Attention—"Taxpayers have every right to expect affordable health care. So it is little wonder that when costs escalate beyond their means they become suspicious and angry," states the Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English on 23 June in a page 12 editorial. Costs are high because of "the state's ruinous handling of the economy. Instead of channelling funds to where they were most needed, such as education, police and health, it chose instead to waste millions on its own political and military excesses. The result has been dangerously depleted social services," continuing unrest, and inflation. "At least the state is at long last trying to correct the imbalance." "There can be no hope of peace and stability if people are denied access to basic services. The architects of the new South Africa must start giving as much attention to this as they do to politics."

Degradation of Blacks Not Easy To Forgive—"The other day a colleague remarked that whatever we wished to say, there definitely had been change in the country. He pointed specifically to the sports situation." "That was white South Africa's understanding of justice," observes Joe Latakgomo in his "Write On!" column on page 12. "The other side is the one all blacks have experienced. The pain. The emotional trauma that it brought on us. However, from speaking to blacks, it seems these abuses could easily be forgiven. But what cannot—and will not—be forgiven is the degradation of blacks through such forms of racism as being denied access to a building through the front door," "of being denied decent housing, decent education, decent jobs. Of being exploited because of the colour of our skin." "Of course, it may all be a thing of the past and FW has often said we should not look at the past, but into the future. But my father, and the fathers and mothers of many, died with that bitterness and often hatred of the whites for what they did to them. I'm not quite sure the gods of Africa will forgive that easily. But we can always try, can't we?"

THE CITIZEN

All-Race Referendum Rejected—The Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 21 June states in a page 6 editorial: "There are now suggestions that the government intends to

hold a referendum for Whites as well as Blacks, Indians and Coloureds, votes for each population group being counted separately as well as together 'to give a grand total. This would give Mr de Klerk a better chance of a 'yes' vote. The government should abandon the idea. There is nothing to be gained by swamping the White vote in an all-race referendum. The new constitution must be accepted by a majority of the Whites or it will fail. If it is rejected, the government claims it can stay in power, but we think it will be obliged to go to the country. If this happens, so be it. It must under no circumstances evade the will of the electorate that put it in power and to which it is answerable. This does not mean we support the CP [Conservative Party]. We have made it clear often enough that we don't. But there can be no solution if the Whites do not have the opportunity to say whether or not they accept the constitutional plan that is decided on. On the contrary, if the Right is not given a fair chance to tackle the government by way of a referendum or an election, then the resistance from white right-wingers will reach alarming proportions."

Parliament Marks Dramatic Era—The parliament session ending on 22 June was "the most dramatic five months in our post-war history," declares THE CITIZEN on 22 June in a page 6 editorial. "Although the country is suffering from endemic political violence, it has come through the trauma of change so far with no great upheavals." "Certainly, with the government taking the decisions outside of Parliament, and with Ministers relying more on television and media conferences to put across their views, Parliament has played a lesser role than previously. In the event, we cannot recall a more dramatic period and yet a relatively tamer session." "What we are seeing, however, is only preliminary skirmishing. The tough part of the battle—the negotiation of a new constitution—is still to come. It is the uncertainty about the kind of South Africa we are going to have, more than anything else, that is causing all the jitters." "It will need strong nerves in the period before a new constitution is decided, but the groundwork for establishing a new South Africa is being laid."

THE WEEKLY MAIL

Cities Negotiate Future Policies—"A nonracial, democratic, future may begin in the cities well before it is achieved in the country as a whole. And a little-noticed official report may have opened the way for cities to begin negotiating that future now," notes Steven Friedman in his "Worm's Eye" column on page 6 of the Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English on 22 June. "The report is not government policy," but statements on local government by President de Klerk and Planning Minister Kriel "are consistent with it." It argues that a new city government system should be negotiated by each city, not imposed by central government. "If the report is adopted, it will in theory open the way for extra-parliamentary groups to negotiate a non-racial city order." However, these groups argue that it will "give right-wing city government elected by a fraction of the population a veto on change in the cities." "Ultimately, a new local government system may have to be shaped in national constitutional

negotiations. Until then, civic groups know it is in their interests to start negotiating nonracial city governments. In some cities, they are either demanding talks or have begun them. The report makes it far harder for white cities to refuse to negotiate. And if agreement is reached in a city, it makes it far harder for the government to block the agreed new system." "However flawed it might seem, the report could offer an opening for the voteless in the cities to begin creating their own future—and to help shape the country's future too."

CAPE TIMES

Government Must Curb All Terrorism—"The threat of rightwing terrorism is at last arousing serious concern in Pretoria," observes the Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 20 June in a page 6 editorial. "It is remarkable that the security police, whose efficiency against the revolutionary left is acknowledged, should fare so poorly when faced with the revolutionary right. The SAP [South African Police] record in curbing rightwing terrorism is abysmal, in fact—with 70 or more murders in this category unsolved on their books and major cases of sabotage likewise outstanding." "Unless the De Klerk government shows its determination to curb terrorism of all kinds, this country's hopes of creating an atmosphere of trust and reconciliation will fade and the long-awaited return of business confidence will recede into the mists."

COSATU Tactics 'Unacceptable'—The 21 June CAPE TIMES states in a page 6 editorial: "Problems in industrial relations locally or nationally should on no account be allowed to rock the political boat as the country moves steadily towards negotiation. There is too much at stake. What are essentially labour issues are threatening to spill over into the political arena in the impasse between the NP [National Party] government and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions]. Although the problems arising from the Labour Relations Act have been resolved by negotiation, the government finds itself unable to get amending legislation ready in time because the session is almost over. COSATU's singularly unhelpful response has been to threaten to appeal to the ANC to call off constitutional negotiations." "We can understand COSATU's impatience to get this important legislation passed," "but the tactics are unacceptable. COSATU could be about to commit a grievous error of judgement, mistaking the flexibility of the De Klerk government for weakness." The government and the ANC "are tackling a major undertaking of national reconciliation. The public at large will have scant sympathy for special interest groups who seek to trouble the atmosphere for the sake of sectional advantage."

25 June Press Review on Current Problems, Issues

MB2506113490

[Editorial Report]

SUNDAY TIMES

No Justification for Violence—Whether or not there might once have been justification for resorting to an armed

struggle, "such times are past," affirms a page 26 editorial in Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 24 June. By continuing their calls for armed struggle, organizations "undercut the ability of the Government to effectively combat the war-mongering of the right. Must we expect Mr. De Klerk to lock up whites for threatening war against the state and yet insist that he turns an indulgent eye towards blacks doing the same thing?"

ANC Negotiation 'Foot-Dragging'—"With deft displays of political footwork and forward planning, Mr. De Klerk has in recent months managed to stay more than one step ahead of his putative partners in the negotiating game," notes a second editorial on the same page. "The foot-dragging, it seems, now comes from elsewhere." "While it may be necessary to show some understanding for an organisation making the difficult transition from a liberation movement to a legitimate political party, it is, nevertheless time the ANC [African National Congress] took a long, hard look at its internal machinery to ensure no time is wasted in creating a new society."

SUNDAY STAR

Call for Arrest of Those Undermining National Security—"The breathtaking speed with which the Government implemented some of its reforms left many South Africans, not least the rightwing, far behind," remarks Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 24 June in its page 16 editorial. "The Right is crying foul. The changes, they claim, are taking things too far—which very clearly crystallises President de Klerk's dilemma, because many voices on the Left say he is not moving far and fast enough. Therein lies the rub. Fanatical rightwingers, hopefully a minority within the Right, feel the only option open to them to retain a decaying and discredited political order is by force of arms." Therefore, the authorities must "hunt down, arrest and speedily charge those of the far Right against whom there is prima facie evidence of a conspiracy to undermine national security and take power by violent means."

THE STAR

Black Politicians 'Nervous'—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 25 June in a page 10 editorial says it has displayed something of the "irritation" the government has felt at what seems to be "foot-dragging by the ANC." But "it is important to note that ANC leaders are not simply being bloody-minded. The view from their side of the fence is decidedly different—and nervous whites ought to be aware that black politicians feel nervous too. Acknowledgement of this fact may help to prevent stereotyped reactions that will not help peaceful change."

THE DAILY MAIL

Real Change To Occur in Parliamentary Structure—"As this year's parliamentary session ended on Friday [22 Jun], there was a very distinct sense among members on all sides of the House of Assembly that the life to which they have become accustomed is slipping, never to return," notes Johannesburg THE DAILY MAIL in

English on 25 June in its page 6 editorial. "None of them know quite what the future will look like but they do know that as of next year parliament ain't gonna be what it used to be." National Party and Democratic Party members of parliament (MP) "committed to real change should already be preparing their constituents for the day that parliaments speaks for, and earns the respect of, all the people of this country. And that means getting whites used to the sound of titles like 'Thabo Mbeki, MP'."

BUSINESS DAY

Parliamentary Session Gives Nation Hope—"Probably for the first time since 1910, South Africans of all races can look back on a parliamentary session and feel proud and hopeful," remarks Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 25 June in a page 8 editorial. "Apartheid laws are being rolled back and the complaint now is that discriminatory measures are not going fast enough. The threat, too, has changed; it now comes not from the ANC and the SACP [South African Communist Party], which calmly call local news conferences, but from rightwingers who may take extreme measures to prevent negotiations and the new government to which negotiations should lead. That danger remains, but this parliamentary session has nevertheless given hope to a nation which had almost abandoned hope. It is a major achievement."

ANC Seeks 'Unfettered Power'—Editor Ken Owen writes on the same page it is "alarming" that the ANC and its various supporting groups "persistently reject, as Nelson Mandela did last week, the notion of a federal state." "The excuse, put forward most recently by the MDM's [Mass Democratic Movement] Faried Esack, is that such mechanisms to limit the power of '50 percent plus one' are mere devices to 'perpetuate apartheid'. A moment's thought exposes the excuse as nonsense. There is hardly a magisterial district, much less a potential federal unit, where whites are not a minority." "We must assume that the rejection of federalism arises from a determination on the part of the ANC to acquire unfettered power. And we must ask ourselves, why this lust for power, if not to coerce?"

SOWETAN

Right Wing Receives 'Gentle Treatment'—"It was proved again this week that a white skin still protects a man from what his lesser black brothers have to endure," observes a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 25 June. The editorial refers to the 11 whites who were detained for "a few hours" under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act. "They did not have to endure detention under Section 29, as many of their countrymen still have to." It is also "particularly odd that the right wing is getting gentle treatment compared to what the left got and is still getting at the hands of the Government. Is the Government reviewing legislation allowing for detention without trial? Are we seeing a return to the rule of law?"

RAPPORT

Call for Strong Action Against Right Wing Violence—Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans on 24 June in its page 22 editorial says: "If black and white terrorism are two sides of the same coin, there can be no doubt that only the strongest action is good enough against right wing groups who have taken the violence path. This should be done regardless of how difficult it may be for Afrikaners to take action against 'our own people'." It is "disturbing" that the impression is being created that right-wing militants have "sympathizers in the security forces." "We could not agree more with Dr. Gerrit Viljoen when he emphasized this week the necessity to speed up the negotiation process. For it is only then that the new, better South Africa can take shape. It is only then that a formula for a better future can calm the fears that now threaten to develop into white violence in its worst form."

26 June Press Review on Current Problems, Issues MB2606113990

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

Government Fails To Keep Whites 'Informed'—"What kind of future can South Africa have if Whites are not only at each other's throats but some are intent on launching terrorist attacks on the government and Blacks?" asks Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 25 June in its page 6 editorial. "It is not sufficient for the government to announce action against White extremists." It has to "take into account that some of the Right-wing backlash is due to the government not keeping its own constituency informed of its plans and its reasons for doing what it does. This silence merely plays into the hands of the Right."

THE STAR

'Firm' Handling of Rightists Needed—The threat of violence from the right "dare not be dismissed lightly" but it should "not be exaggerated either," warns a page 18 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 26 June. "What is needed is firm, purposeful action, not only against the Right's bombers but against its inciters of racial hatred and violence. The National Party, once so resolute in suppressing the ANC and its sympathisers, should use the full weight of the law against rightists who flirt with or encourage violence."

THE DAILY MAIL

Abolish Civil Cooperation Bureau—"We do not need a judicial commission of inquiry to tell us that the Civil Co-operation Bureau [CCB], that special structure of the South African Defense Force created to investigate and act against those it perceived as enemies of the state, is an organisation with deadly purpose and resources," notes Johannesburg THE DAILY MAIL in English on 26

June in its page 6 editorial. "What we do need is political action, swift and sure, to immobilise the 200-plus agents of the CCB, to expose the identity of each and every one of them, to cut off their funding, and to ensure that there is no corner within the structures of the state for them to hide." This is "more than just necessary at a time when the major political adversaries move falteringly toward a peaceful settlement: it is downright dangerous to the process, and should be abolished totally."

SOWETAN

Transkei Referendum Welcome—"The chairman of Transkei's Military Council, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, is now beginning to put his money where his mouth is," affirms Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 26 June in a page 6 editorial. "He is planning to hold a referendum to test whether Transkeians want to retain their nominal independence or rejoin South Africa." "In the current climate, when everybody in South Africa is talking about change, we all need to stop pointing fingers, trying to find who was to blame for the political mess in the country today."

CAPE TIMES

De Klerk, Mandela Need To 'Reassure' South Africans—Gerald Shaw writes in his "Political Survey" column on page 6 of Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 22 June he hopes "both President De Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela will take a break from world travel and give more of their time to addressing and reassuring the South African population, in which expectation and apprehension alike are tending to run wild." "It is violence and the fear of more to come which could yet arrest (but not reverse) the advance to a new South Africa, protracting the misery of the transition, whether it be violence on the Left or Right extremes of the political spectrum, or continuing Natal-style factionalism."

DIE BURGER

ANC Must Get House in Order—"However hard the ANC tries to blame the government because the apartheid pillars are still standing, it is becoming clearer by the day that it is really the ANC that is in a tight corner," observes Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 22 June in a page 22 editorial. "This is also evident from Dr. Gerrit Viljoen's announcement yesterday that the government is in a hurry to get a new dispensation under way." "The most important stumbling blocks have been abolished, and the political scene is so changed that political parties can organize and formulate policies without restrictions." "While it is expected that the government should start real negotiations early in 1991, it is high time that the other parties, among them the ANC, get their house in order and stop hiding behind fig leaves."

BEELD

ANC Must Abandon 'Glorification' Trips—"Mr. Mandela is trying to get a last sanctions spark from the crumbling coal of apartheid," remarks Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 25 June in a page 8 editorial. "Meanwhile, more and more people are unemployed due to, among other things, sanctions and no confidence in the South African economy that is under the onslaught of the new nationalization ideology." "If the ANC is deliberately trying to delay reform and on the other hand wants to punish the government because there is not enough progress, it is going to dump South Africa into the confrontation of a few years ago. If one compares the government's achievement list since 2 February against the ANC's actions, it becomes clear the ANC leaders need to abandon their glorification trips to come and work on solutions here."

Angola

UNITA Criticizes 'Revolting' Mandela Statements

MB2606072390 (Clandestine) KUP in English
to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Commentary: "Nelson Mandela: Totalitarianism's Trojan Horse"]

[Text] Jamba, Monday June 25 [dateline as received]—Nelson Mandela, the ANC [African National Congress] vice-president currently on a tour to the United States of America has just declared in Washington that the United States of America should stop aiding UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. These statements, criticising the foreign policy of the United States Government and the successive policy positions taken by the U.S. Congress, were broadcast by the Voice of America in its 05:30 hours Angolan time broadcast in Portuguese on June 25, 1990.

It is surprising and revolting that a leader of a black movement claiming to fight for the rights of blacks in South Africa, makes such ridiculous statements in support of the illegitimate and illegal Luanda government imposed in power by foreign Cuban forces and other gangs of mercenaries in the service of expansionism and totalitarianism.

It is not fair that such utterances have to come from a black leader and who we think, is so much egotistic and boastful of his so-called world popularity, that he allows himself to be the champion of the world's totalitarian regimes such as those in Angola and Cuba.

If Nelson Mandela likes dictatorship, the one-party system and intolerance so much, there is no doubt that this is the sort of system that he would want to implant in South Africa.

We doubt that Nelson Mandela's erroneous positions will have the support of the majority of freedom and democracy loving peoples in southern Africa.

He should not forget that Angola is doubtlessly marching towards democratic ideals and that UNITA is Angola's next government. This is the Angolan people's categoric message which will be made concrete in general, free and open elections. Our beloved president, Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, enjoys the overwhelming support of the Angolan people who want to be free and dignified.

The development of events in Angola will never allow that Nelson Mandela should perpetuate tyranny in our country. The massacres which the African National Congress troops carried out in Angola during their stay in various parts of our country in support of the minority, illegal, corrupt and bloody Luanda regime, are enough.

Nelson Mandela should convince himself that he will not be able to bend or change the correct position adopted by

the American people, the Congress and President George Bush's administration with regard to UNITA.

The United States of America is a democratic country and the champion of democracy and cannot be a conveyor of totalitarian, intolerant and dictatorial ideas such as those defended by Mandela.

We Angolans, we UNITA militants, are bitter defenders of freedom, multiparty democracy, progress and national solidarity in all aspects of life.

We are also a people proud of our heroic history and will never allow ourselves to be under a tyrannical regime or dominated by foreign powers.

American people, American Congress, the administration of President Bush, do not listen to Nelson Mandela's voice on Angola because he does not reflect democratic ideals. Only he himself is used as a trojan horse of tyranny and totalitarianism.

Down with tyranny and totalitarianism. Long live freedom and multiparty democracy. Long live UNITA. Long live the UNITA armed forces, FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola].

Mozambique

Chissano Address on Independence Anniversary

MB2506131290 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese
1100 GMT 25 Jun 90

["Address to the Nation" by President Joaquim Chissano on the 15th Anniversary of National Independence and 28th Anniversary of the Founding of Frelimo, Mozambique Liberation Front, in Maputo on 24 June—recorded]

[Text] Mozambican women, Mozambican men: In a few hours we shall mark 25 June, National Independence Day; 25 June is the result of the victorious struggle for national liberation waged by the Mozambican people under Frelimo leadership against Portuguese colonialism.

National independence is an achievement that belongs to all Mozambicans from the Rovuma River to the Maputo River. It is the fruit of all Mozambican people's resistance. It is the fruit of national unity, a banner that we have erected and continue to defend with patriotism.

Similarly, we mark today 28 years of the existence of Frelimo, a beacon that lights our paths of national unity, liberty, and democracy. We celebrate today the founding of Frelimo—the party of the Mozambican people and the defender of liberty, independence, progress, and social justice.

During these 15 years of our independence, we have made many sacrifices that were necessary to defend

national independence itself as well as the dignity of Mozambican citizens which has been threatened on many occasions.

Also threatened by our country's enemies is our national unity. We are however happy to say that today this unity is a reality. It will last forever and will continue to consolidate because that is the wish of our people.

During the 15 years of our Republic's existence, we have deepened and developed the democracy established with the founding of our national liberation movement. What is more, we have progressively created conditions for our social well-being. We are a big family where tribes, races, and religions are united by love and the defense and consolidation of the Mozambican fatherland. June 25th is a day when we remember our long history, as well as the dignity and pride of being Mozambicans who are free and part of world nations. It is a day of celebrations and national unity that we all mark with joy and the certainty for a better tomorrow.

Compatriots, as we celebrate the 15th anniversary of national independence and the 28th anniversary of Frelimo's founding, we are all aware of the current reality facing our country. We have been through 15 years of struggle against foreign aggression, destabilization, and the systematic destruction of our country.

After examining this difficult situation that we are currently facing and expressing our people's aspirations and wishes, the Frelimo Party Fifth Congress defined as a priority the restoration of peace, the normalization of the life of all Mozambicans, and the continuation of economic rehabilitation and the country's development.

Our government's commitment to holding direct negotiations as soon as possible is aimed at bringing about a lasting and genuine peace for all Mozambicans. This war was imposed on us with the aim of contesting history and jeopardizing Mozambique's independence and sovereignty. Accordingly, it has always been and continues to be our patriotic duty to rise up en masse to defend our fatherland when it is under attack.

Our struggle for peace as well as all our initiatives toward this objective are principally aimed at defending Mozambique's independence and sovereignty. We cannot weaken in this struggle, no matter what difficulties and obstacles we may encounter.

Today, objective conditions have been created at the national, regional, and international levels, to ensure that our efforts will result in the peace so much desired by all Mozambican people. Our efforts should result in peace because the southern region of our continent has been fighting for this objective. Our efforts should result in peace because that is the general desire of the international community. Accordingly, we cannot allow alien individual or collective interests to overtake the interests of our people, as well as the interests of the peoples of the region and the international community.

Thus, the search for peace in Mozambique continues to be active and unstoppable. We are sure and confident that we shall achieve this great wish of ours, that is the restoration of peace that will defend Mozambique's independence and sovereignty, and the dignity of Mozambican men and women, a peace that will bring about our country's speedy reconstruction and development.

Compatriots, after the Frelimo Party Fifth Congress, we resumed the debate on the draft project for revising the Constitution which is our fundamental law. Throughout our national territory, our people are freely expressing their views. In our country's history, this process is a qualitative step forward in the development of democracy which began to be implanted in Mozambique after Frelimo's creation and after the struggle for liberation and the achievement of national independence.

We are all freely contributing to the drafting of our country's fundamental law based on our experience and mode of life. We want to ensure that our Constitution will express our people's wish to consolidate a state of rule of law, democracy, and social justice, as well as a state that will enshrine and safeguard human rights.

The Constitution of the Republic that we shall approve after this debate should guarantee a greater consolidation of national unity, strengthen democracy and liberty, and ensure greater participation of every Mozambican citizen in our nation's destiny and solution of economic and social problems of our country.

We are committing ourselves to economic rehabilitation, thereby reversing our downward trend and achieving growth in agricultural and industrial production as well as in agricultural trade.

Our results so far are not enough for us to see improvement in our standards of living, for each citizen to notice any improvement in his standard of living. We still have major economic and social imbalances and we remain very dependent on other countries. We have not yet fully achieved our independence. Thus, we are forced to make even more sacrifices at this stage, so every Mozambican family can hope for a more prosperous future.

We have already done many things that show we can achieve those goals. We must continue along this path to develop all our potential. Every form of state, cooperative, private, and family property has a relevant role to play. We must correct our errors. We must perfect our laws and norms and observe them with increasing rigor. To this end, work based on free initiative must be encouraged so that each Mozambican citizen can help build a strong and developed economy that promotes prosperity and social well-being. However, we must not confuse freedom with anarchy, indiscipline, or disorder.

Our successful efforts in the struggle for peace have included reintegrating millions of displaced Mozambicans, inside and outside the country, as well as normalizing their lives. Those efforts will help create conditions permitting increased production and productivity.

The reconstruction of the ruined fatherland will bring the prosperity we all want for Mozambique, our children, and future generations.

The 15th anniversary of national independence and the Frelimo Party's 28th anniversary have been marked by celebrations within the framework of the grandiose Frelimo festival. This is a clear sign that our people want unity and are united behind their Frelimo Party, the party for all Mozambican people. We salute all those who made this festival a major success and a symbol of national solidarity.

Mozambican men and women: These 15 years of independence we now celebrate have also been 15 years of dynamic relations with the international community and the world. We have gained more friends and secured more international solidarity through those relations.

We have diplomatic relations with most independent countries. We have established and strengthened cooperation with countries from every continent, irrespective of their political or social regimes. We all know we have enjoyed multifaceted solidarity during this stage of serious economic and social problems. This has happened both with the emergency program and the Economic Rehabilitation Program, PRE. We have assured our international partners we will continue channeling their solidarity and support toward the causes of national well-being and prosperity.

We became independent 15 years ago. The international and regional situations at the time were characterized by confrontation, the so-called cold war, and poor understanding about the options and aspirations of recently liberated countries.

Today, 15 years later, we have a different international and regional situation in embryo. In the current climate of eased tension, it is important that the principles and aims of the UN and OAU Charters be respected. We must continue making efforts to establish a new international economic order.

People have intensified their liberation struggles. In our region, that led to Zimbabwe and Namibia achieving independence and to the apartheid elimination process being accelerated. The Mozambican people have always played an active role in that process. Whether within the context of the Frontline States, SADCC [Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference], the group of the five Lusophone countries, the Nonaligned Movement, or the great UN family, we have always expressed our solidarity with just causes, the struggle for the people's well-being and prosperity, and the implementation of the ideals of peace, freedom, democracy, and

progress. We believe in new successes. We believe in particular the situation in southern Africa will evolve along positive lines.

Mozambican men and women: To celebrate this day is to remember the long and glorious path we have walked. It is to reaffirm our determination to continue our struggle for peace, progress, and social well-being.

We are free and independent men, women, old people, youths, and children. Wherever we may be, we are the citizens of the People's Republic of Mozambique. We want all our citizens inside and outside the country to contribute their wisdom, talent, and work to the development of the Mozambican fatherland.

On this festive occasion, we would like to salute the workers, peasants, artisans, intellectuals, artists, and all those on the various economic and social fronts who help the country grow.

We would like to convey a special salute to the FPLM [Popular Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique] soldiers, noncommissioned officers, and officers as well as to the joint defense and security forces for their sacrifices and for courageously and selflessly defending our country and the lives of all Mozambican people.

We hereby express our solidarity with all those Mozambican people who have lost their beloved relatives, homes, and possessions. Violence and terrorism have forced them to live along roads and paths, or to move to other villages, towns, and cities.

We salute the Mozambican people from the Rovuma River to the Maputo River. We are celebrating this date by increasing our efforts to ensure the future will bring peace and prosperity to all Mozambicans.

Long live 25 June! Long live national independence! Long live the Mozambican people! The struggle continues.

Emphasizes Need for Peace

MB2406192690 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Text] President Joaquim Alberto Chissano has said that during the 15 years of the existence of the People's Republic of Mozambique, we have strengthened and developed democracy and we have progressively created the conditions for social well-being.

The Mozambican head of state stated this this evening in a message to the nation on the occasion of the country's 15th anniversary of national independence and Frelimo's [Mozambique Liberation Front] 28th anniversary.

President Joaquim Chissano said 25 June is a day that reasserts our long history, dignity, and pride in rejoining the nations of the world as free Mozambican people. The Mozambican head of state said that these have been 15

years of struggle against foreign aggression, destabilization, and the systematic destruction of the country.

President Joaquim Chissano said in his message that the struggle for peace and all related initiatives ultimately seek to protect Mozambique's independence and sovereignty. The Mozambican head of state said that we must be unwavering in our struggle, regardless of the difficulties and obstacles in our path.

President Joaquim Chissano affirmed in his message that we today have the correct objective national, regional, and international conditions for the process to lead to the peace that the Mozambican people so desire. For this reason, we must not allow alien individual or collective interests to overtake the interests of our people, of the people of southern Africa, and of the international community, the Mozambican leader added.

Reviewing the debate on the draft project for revising the Constitution of the Republic, President Joaquim Alberto Chissano said that within the context of Mozambique's history, this process is a qualitative step for developing the democracy that the creation of Frelimo, the liberation struggle, and national independence have brought to the country.

Addresses Frelimo Anniversary

MB2506192690 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1900 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] President Joaquim Chissano said in Maputo this evening the Mozambican Government will not rest until lasting peace is achieved, adding peace must also respect the Mozambican people's dignity.

The Mozambican head of state said this at a reception marking the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party's 28th anniversary and the 15th anniversary of national independence. President Joaquim Chissano said much was accomplished during the 15 years of independence, particularly on qualitative changes in society and its help in constructing its own future.

The Mozambican head of state saluted state workers and members of the Frelimo Party and of democratic, social, and professional organizations for their dedication to their work.

Leaders Greet Chissano on Independence Day

MB2306171490 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] Vaclav Havel, president of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, has wished success to Joaquim Chissano, his Mozambican counterpart, in his efforts to establish peace in the country. This is contained in a message addressed to President Joaquim Chissano on the occasion of 25 June.

Meanwhile, the president of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka has expressed the desire to further strengthen relations of friendship as well as understanding and cooperation between the two countries.

Also on the occasion of Mozambique's independence anniversary, Rauf Denktaş, president of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, has wished Joaquim Chissano well-being, peace, and prosperity for the Mozambican people.

Kaunda, Castro Send Greetings

MB2206200190 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has expressed the hope that ongoing peace efforts in Mozambique will succeed for the benefit of southern Africa as a whole.

In a message to President Joaquim Chissano to mark Mozambique's 25 June National Day, President Kenneth Kaunda said Zambia greatly appreciates the country's sacrifices for freedom and justice in southern Africa. The Zambian head of state also wrote in his message that his people will continue to grant moral, material, and diplomatic support to the Mozambican people for the sake of peace. President Kenneth Kaunda also expressed satisfaction with the consistent and friendly nature of bilateral relations.

The president's office also received messages from Cuban President Fidel Castro, Bangladesh President Hussain Mohammad Ershad, Iranian President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Japanese Emperor Akihito, and Mauritian Prime Minister Aneurood Jugnauth.

In his message, Cuban President Fidel Castro said that the date of 25 June 1975 represents the heroic Mozambican people's glorious victory over colonial domination and added that it was a cornerstone in the just struggle of the peoples for man's freedom, sovereignty, and dignity.

SFRY Leader Greets Chissano

MB2406120090 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Text] SFRY President [of the Presidency] Borisav Jovic has sent a congratulatory message to President Joaquim Chissano on the occasion of the 15th national independence anniversary tomorrow. In his message Jovic says he believes the traditional friendship and existing cooperation between the two nonaligned countries will continue to be successfully developed for the well-being of the two peoples.

Extradition Treaty With Swaziland Signed

MB2206194290 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese
1730 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Mozambican Security Minister Mariano Matsinhe and Swazi Foreign Minister George Mamba signed an extradition treaty in Mbabane yesterday.

The two officials led teams from the two countries to a meeting of the joint Mozambique-Swaziland commission. The meeting focused on issues connected with illegal immigration into both countries, stolen vehicles, drug trafficking, and the need to sign a tripartite accord among Mozambique, Swaziland, and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees for the voluntary repatriation of displaced persons.

* Portugal Expels Renamo's Almirante

90AF0255A Lisbon O INDEPENDENTE
in Portuguese 18 May 90 p 8

[Text] The government expelled Joao Almirante, Portugal's strong man in Renamo [Mozambican National Resistance].

Joao Almirante, behind-the-scenes delegate to Renamo in Portugal was asked to leave the national territory. According to reliable sources, the expulsion order did not come from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; it came from the Military Intelligence Services [SIM] which gave instructions to the foreign service in this regard.

Almirante, who declared himself "the eyes, ears, and voice" of Afonso Dhlakama in Portugal, has been in our country since last December. He had a foreign passport and a tourist visa. Two days before their expiration, he received word that the passport and visa would not be renewed and that he should therefore pack his bags and leave.

Sources close to the administration alleged that the right arm of the Renamo leader "acted somewhat imprudently." He even made statements to O INDEPENDENTE in which he asserted that Afonso Dhlakama had refused an invitation from the Portuguese Government to meet in Portugal with Joaquim Chissano, currently on an official visit to our country.

Almirante then explained the reasons for his negative response as being "the somewhat likewarm manner in which the entire procedure was conducted" and invited Cavaco Silva's executive delegation "to respond formally and without further complications" to the invitation. But the rebellious Mozambican leader went further: "The Portuguese must understand that the leadership is not in the hands of just any individual but in that of a president."

Almirante Recycled

Despite the expulsion order, sources close to the executive branch maintain that Almirante "did not act with bad intentions but with bad advice." For this reason they

recommend "a period of rest during which they hope that the Renamo leader will undergo a recycling."

Meanwhile, rest does not seem to be on Almirante's horizon. In fact, a few days before receiving the order to leave Portugal, Joao Almirante had received directives from the movement ordering him to "return to the territory in question." Dhlakama's right arm already had the return ticket in his possession, but he did not want "to push the Portuguese authorities with regard to this issue."

One factor which appears to have intrigued the administration is that of the "doubtful status" of the Renamo leader. Even during its operative phase in Portugal, the rebellious Mozambican movement has managed to retain Manuel Frank as its official representative. Nevertheless, the position occupied by Almirante in the movement's hierarchy made him a "more credible spokesman" than Frank.

In the first phase of his sojourn in Portugal, Joao Almirante met mostly with military representatives. "Never have I had any contact with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs," said Almirante about a month ago. But according to sources close to Renamo, times have changed since "diplomatic channels" have come into play.

Curiously, that cabinet member of the Renamo presidency is leaving Portugal at a time when he considers it highly probable that our country will set the stage for a meeting between the Mozambican Government and the leaders of his movement. In view of the current misunderstanding between the two conflicting parties regarding the next site of the negotiations in question, Almirante considered Portugal "one of the few candidates capable of satisfying both sides."

One thing is certain—with or without Almirante—it was in Lisbon that, for the first time, representatives from Maputo and Renamo showed their willingness to cooperate. Renamo was represented by Sebastiao Temporario, in charge of the movement's finances, while Guilherme Simao served as press attache at the Mozambican Embassy in Portugal. The event took place at a hotel in the capital during a meeting sponsored by the association for peace and democracy in Mozambique.

But the discussion was not confined to the principal matter under consideration. Two other resolutions required attention: the scheduling of a Mozambican conference of cadres abroad, and a public invitation to Mozambican bishops to journey to Portugal for meetings with our country's Church.

* Worker Demands Intensify Following Successes

34000742A Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN
ECONOMIST in English Apr/May 90 pp 38-40

[Article: "Strikes Win First Round"]

[Text] For the moment, at least, the government in Mozambique seems to have quelled the wave of strikes.

But a first-round victory has made workers greedy for triumph.

Mozambican workers entered 1990 with a strong message for the government—that they were no longer going to bear silently the hardships of its economic adjustment programme known as PRE. Although poorly organised and at times resorting to violence and intimidation, the striking workers did succeed in staging stoppages never experienced before in 15 years of independence.

The wave of strikes began in late December with a 48 hours stoppage by the editorial staff of the weekly "TEMPO" magazine, demanding an end-of-year bonus which the management had promised to pay before the Christmas festivities. On December 30 the workers at Maputo Steel Rolling Mill downed their tools over a similar claim. That was the beginning of a movement which later spread to other cities and to most sectors of industry.

The government's leadership, including President Joaquim Chissano and Prime Minister Mario Machungo, said most of the workers' demands were just but stressed that some of their claims were dishonest and insupportable under the country's present economic situation.

At the beginning the demands were restricted to the payment of the end-of-year bonuses and salary arrears owed by some companies to the workers. But as the movement spread to other sectors including hospitals, factories, schools, railways and road transport, the list of demands began to swell to include pay rises of between 50 and 150 percent or more, bonuses for night shift work, payment against risk of infection (for health workers), length of service bonuses, the provision of protective clothing and medical check-ups for workers handling dangerous chemicals.

Paradoxically, except for the pay rise demands, most of the workers' demands were to re-inforce government labour legislation enacted at the start of the IMF/World Bank-supported rehabilitation programme in 1987 as a way of softening the impact of the hardships brought about by the structural adjustment measures.

In one sense the strikes demonstrated the government's inability to guarantee the enforcement of its own labour legislation by its own officials. At Maputo port and railways, company workers had waited for almost three years to get their wage arrears dating back to 1987. Throughout this period the workers had unsuccessfully tried to persuade management to settle up, the management's argument being that the financial situation of the company was bad and there was no money. Yet it took only one week to get the matter settled, once some of the 14,000 workers involved showed their readiness to fight for their rights by going on strike on January 2. "They say they cannot give us better pay because there is no money. But the directors travel in good cars and unlike

us they got their arrears. Let them close down the company if there is no money," one strike leader declared.

Apparently the growing wage gap between the ordinary workers and skilled personnel and the perks enjoyed by the latter to retain them in the state sector, is one of the reasons for the strikes. Under a plan promoted by the sponsors of PRE in order to "stabilise" skilled labour, managerial and technical personnel earn from 5 to 10 times the minimum salary of around 25,000 meticaïs (US\$28). Besides that, as with heads of government and departments and ministries, they are entitled to a company car and free petrol and maintenance. In some cases these additional hand-outs alone come to more than double the minimum wage.

The strikes were also provoked by incompetent administration. At Nampula Road Transport Company (RONAP) in the north of the country, workers had not been paid for 11 months and the workers were owed 60 million meticaïs (US\$66,820) in payment arrears.

In another company in southern Gaza province, striking workers who were owed over five months in wage arrears uncovered evidence showing that management had swindled the company out of 11 million meticaïs (US\$12,250). The director of the company was subsequently suspended, pending investigations.

When in the first days of January it became apparent that the strike would worsen, the ministry of labour issued "transitory procedures" to be taken by workers before resorting to work stoppages. The rules, which a local lawyer contended were illegal because they contradict a 1979 law still in force under which striking is a criminal act, stipulate that striking should be the "last resort" when "there is no possibility of settlement through negotiation".

The wave of strikes took the official trade union, OTM, by surprise. The workers had ignored OTM. President Chissano delivered a pointed rebuke to the union when he said it should cease being "a baby of the party", meaning perhaps that it had become disloyal or ineffective child of its father—the ruling party of FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front].

For the time being the government seems to have calmed down the wave of strikes and most of the demands, except those relating to pay, have been met. But victory in the first round has made the workers greedy for triumph. Having won major concessions through the hard way of strike action, there is no reason why this newly discovered weapon should not deliver them more—or so they think.

Observing the scene from the aloofness of his chair, a high government official given to philosophical epigrams noted thus about the strike: "The mind understands the country's difficult situation. It is the stomach which refuses to accept."

Guinea-Bissau

* Country's Political Opening Analyzed

90AF0186A Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese
19 May 90 pp 44-47, 53-54

[Commentary by EXPRESSO correspondent Jose Pedro Castanheira]

[Text] The Guinea-Bissau Airlines (TAGB) plane from Lisbon had just touched down at the Oswaldo Vieira International Airport. A member of the crew, speaking in a metallic and routine voice, makes an announcement over the loudspeaker. After the usual greetings he adds an unusual warning: "Passengers are informed that taking photographs at the airport is not permitted." Sitting in a special section of the plane, returning from yet another trip to Paris where he underwent his regular checkup, Nino Vieira in a fit of anger orders an advisor to call over the crew member who had just spoken. "Who told you that it is forbidden to take photos? Where is that written down?" the Guinean president asked in fury. The TAGB staff member attempts an explanation but he is interrupted sternly by Nino: "Well, for your information, it has never been forbidden to take pictures at the airport. Go and correct that announcement right now." Seconds later, the same voice, now terrified and stammering, begs the passengers' pardon and advises that, contrary to what he had said, there is no restriction on the taking of pictures. Dumbfounded, after some hesitation, the passengers who fill the economy class seats break out into prolonged and resounding applause.

Priority for a State of Law

Joao Bernardo Vieira is the principal seat of power in Guinea-Bissau. Even so, it is almost certain that this unusual intervention has had almost no practical effect. Most likely the officers of the various police and military forces who swarm over the dilapidated airport facilities will continue to exercise their measure of authority and to importune anyone found peering through the lens of a photographic camera.

There is still some arbitrariness everywhere. President Vieira himself frankly admitted this when he swore in the new government on 9 March: "The decisions that are made must be responsible, prompt, and based on the law. Every kind of arbitrariness should be avoided so that we can in fact build a state of Law."

Almost 17 years after independence was proclaimed, Guinea-Bissau's political priority is the edification of a State of law.

Government at Gunpoint

This is, after all, the consequence of the way power was exercised in Guinea-Bissau during the troubled decade of the 1980s, when rifle muzzles imposed their logic on the law and on rights.

First off, there was the coup d'etat by which Nino Vieira deposed then-president Luis Cabral. That was on 14 November 1980, the date that marks the "readjustment movement." In March 1984, a new crisis forced out Prime Minister Vitor Saude Maria. The worst occurred in June 1986, when 12 leaders from the Balanta ethnic group were sentenced to death. Six of them were shot—and at the head of the list was Paulo Correia, who ranked second in the government hierarchy.

After the power relationships in the party and military arenas had thus been clarified, the situation settled down into normality. The country could then turn its attention from politics to the economy, which was on the road to ruin and needed a real shock treatment.

During the first half of the decade, the Guinean economy would come close to bankruptcy. Disruption in the flow of essential goods to the public, most especially in the capital city, was a daily reality. In certain parts of the country, the specter of hunger stalked the campfires. The nation's production structure could not ensure survival. As was acknowledged in an important document dated in 1988, the "economic disruption" that independence represented led to the "drop in all the development indicators."

Surgery—at once delicate and drastic—was ordered. The prescription was obtained from the International Monetary Fund which, advised by the World Bank, dictated new rules for an economy on the brink of collapse. The solution went by the name "Structural Readjustment Program." This was a course of treatment which, four years later, its biggest fan and current minister of finance—"Manecas"—admits was "too restrictive and almost impossible to implement."

A Job in Portugal

Antonio works at Armazens do Povo [People's Warehouses], the country's largest state-owned corporation. An undistinguished factory hand, he is a member of the urban wage-earners, the ones who felt the brutality of the economic shock most deeply. More than 30 years old and with a family to support, Antonio earns about 70,000 pesos—double the minimum wage for government employees. At the official rate of exchange, this is 5,000 Portuguese escudos.

The diet of a Guinean family is based on an average of two 50-kg bags of rice a month, the price of which fell after liberalization to 40,000 pesos each. "It is hard to live this way, don't you think? You don't even have to bother to add things up....," said Antonio in exasperation, with downcast eyes and a sad smile. The answer is found in odd jobs and recourse to the family economy. "I can do a little of everything. Can't you get me a job in Portugal?" he asks, as he hands over three grubby 1,000 peso bills to the driver of the jitney, an unrecognizable blue-and-white Renault 12, with doors literally held on with wires and a clatter that almost drowns out the music on the cassette player. More than once Antonio has

joined the line that forms outside the Embassy of Portugal every day but he has never been able to prove that he satisfies the strict conditions for access to the coveted visa.

From the Bandim Market...

Attacked by one devaluation after another, the Guinea-Bissau peso has lost what little value it had. Inflation has gone straight through the roof, reaching 78 percent last year and demolishing the scant purchasing power even further. Layoffs in the public sector brought unemployment, not compensated by the social security system but greatly mitigated by family solidarity.

Despite the disastrous nature of many of the measures taken, liberalization did succeed in stimulating the economy which, moribund, began to show some signs of life. After some years of negative growth, internal production increased, and the same is happening with exports.

It was in the commercial sector that the "boom" occurred. The Bandim market, on the outskirts of Bissau, is obviously thriving. Between mountains of garbage and open sewers, under the watchful eyes of the vultures, vendors display merchandise of all kinds and origins.

From the interior of the country come Fulas, Balantas, Manjacos, and Papeis bringing cashew fruit and manioc, papaya and peanuts, goats and chickens. From beyond the borders come Senegalese, Mauritians, and Conakry Guineans bringing the most varied products, which might just as well be shoes and beverages as wooden handicrafts and home appliances. Among the bright colors of the merchandise and in the midst of the haggling over prices and currencies, you hear all the dialects and languages of the region—except Portuguese. Whether the wares are spread out on the ground or displayed in rudimentary booths, the sites are guarded 24 hours a day by relatives of the owners and illuminated at night by the pale light of a wick burning in the neck of a bottle that serves as a makeshift oil lamp.

Bandim is the huge center of supply for the growing, and impoverished, population of Bissau. Some years ago they had nothing; today they lack nothing, even though the prices are hardly compatible with the contents of the pockets of the majority. And that is why Bandim is considered the real mirror and thermometer of the Guinean economy.

To the Pao-de-Acucar

Things would be tough, however, if Bandim were the only sign of economic growth. The regular commercial sector is perfectly able to supply the small middle class, the ruling elite, and the numerous foreigners. The latest novelty is a pizzeria that vies with the new ice cream parlors for the privileged role of preferred afternoon meeting place in Bissau. Along the broad and well-traveled road to the airport, the Sheraton now exhibits a reasonably high occupancy rate. But the biggest novelty

is a full-fledged Pao-de-Acucar supermarket, erected right across from the historic Amura fortress where lie the mortal remains of Amilcar Cabral. The supermarket constitutes, after all, full proof of the confidence of private investment—especially foreign investors.

Barbarous Capitalism

The economic edifice that was erected after independence on a foundation of planning and statism crumbled in a little more than two years. The skeleton of a diametrically-opposed system based on the market and private enterprise is arising from the ruins. As sociologist Carlos Lopes—perhaps the most celebrated Guinean intellectual—so lucidly observed in 1987, "the great question" of the moment "turned out to be whether economic (capitalist) growth was really necessary as the premise for any distribution of wealth."

Beyond the nostalgia of the idealists, very little remains of what had been socialism in Guinea-Bissau, other than some vestiges and sad memories. Privatization is the order of the day, and no sector is exempt. The most recent, and symptomatic, example was the 1 March inauguration of the International Bank of Guinea-Bissau, in which the government holds only 26 percent of the capital.

Given the total absence of any rules, and the weakness of the necessary social counterparts, the nascent capitalism is at risk, however, of having more of a brutal than a truly liberal stamp. "We don't need employees like that, all they do is ruin things; the best thing you can do is put them out on the street as soon as possible," a minister, beside himself with anger, shouted at the (Portuguese) director of the 24 September Hotel, denouncing, in our presence, the failure of a young receptionist to wake up a foreign guest.

The Stain of Corruption

The political authority is not only the engine of the economic revolution; it is also its primary beneficiary. Countless members of the "nomenklatura" have suddenly discovered an affinity for business deals. To put it bluntly, "everyone protects his own interests," a director general whose star is obviously on the rise explained to me over two whiskeys. Many are buying up urban real estate or farm properties. Others prefer to invest in private or blended capital companies. The boundary line between public office and individual interests is a hazy one.

For example, the new Companhia de Navegacao da Guinea-Bissau was granted "against the thrust of the whole liberalization policy"—as a Portuguese expert told me—a monopoly on ocean shipping. This deal is worth millions; several Portuguese companies fought to get the business, but 51 percent of the capital of the victorious company is held by close relatives of three ministers and party leaders.

The influence of the judiciaries and of public opinion is virtually nonexistent. It is no wonder, then, that corruption is widespread. Not long ago, the chief executives of all the mixed-economy fishing companies were removed from office: various kinds of irregularities sent some to prison, while others were simply suspended. And every night in the sidewalk cafes of the "Namtchite" or the "24 September," you can hear gossip and rumors about con games and transactions of dubious legality or morality...

The First to Liberalize

"I don't know whether this is being a Marxist or not; what I do know is that all over the world, economic transformations must be accompanied by political transformations. And that's what we are doing," the transportation minister told me as he sipped a cold beer.

Considered a technocrat, Avito Jose da Silva is not part of the PAIGC [African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde] leadership. That same "batch" of political cadres who are on the rise within the government also includes Secretary of State for the Treasury Eduardo Fernandes. Trained in economics at the ISE [Higher Institute of Economics] in Lisbon, he collaborated, in his younger years, with the Portuguese UEC [Union of Communist Students]. He is among those rare government officials who insists on western dress—making an exception only for the necktie, an accessory one can certainly do without in the tropics. Pragmatic and proud, he recalls that "of the five Lusophone countries in Africa, we were the first to liberalize the economy." Almost as a complaint he says with conviction, that "we could also have been the first with a political opening."

Signal Left But Turn Right

The pace of developments in politics has, in fact, been much slower than that of the economy, where there was a flood of events after the Fourth Congress of the PAIGC, held in November 1986, gave the indispensable green light. Meanwhile, in politics things have moved along at a snail's pace—even though it has already become obvious in the congress, as one of its leaders told me, that "it was no longer possible to signal left but turn right..."

It is true that the release of political prisoners, the winning back of the dissidents, and the rehabilitation of those who had fallen in disgrace has helped to calm political life. But the economic liberalization and the winds of "perestroyka" suggest a larger low pressure area.

The first political sign of some concern about the future did not surface until a meeting of the Central Committee in June 1988, which created an Expanded Commission on Reflection and another committee to revise the Constitution. In January of this year, the 25 members of the commission on reflection met for five days in Cacheu. That was followed by another meeting in Bissau. At those meetings, as one of the participants assured me

"the functioning of the entire system passed in review." Brought to the table were proposals such as separation between the executive and legislative branches, abolition of the death penalty, the independence of the judiciary and the unions, the holding of free elections...

Opening the Way to Multipartyism

The commission on reflection generated three working groups. The first prepared the revision of the party platform and has already finished its work: its coordinator, Filinto Barros, refrained from giving any details, joking that "you have to be very careful with journalists, especially foreigners..." Another group is drafting a set of by-laws, while a third commission is debating what was called the "transition platform."

The delicate problem of multipartyism has not been circumvented. Between the maintenance of the single party system—which finds sympathy among certain quarters associated with the armed struggle who gained so-called revolutionary legitimacy thereby—and the resolute march toward the creation of new parties, the commission opted for a compromise. Vasco Cabral, the ideologist of the apparatus who usually inspires the most conservative positions, was the one who, as coordinator of the commission, announced some of the conclusions on television. "At the present stage the one-party system, in which the party is a national liberation movement, must be maintained in power...but this does not mean there can be no gradual evolution toward the creation of conditions conducive to multipartyism." This is what was in the document disclosed by Vasco Cabral. What stuck in the minds of diplomats and the renewalists in the regime was the opening to multipartyism, and it was with profound disappointment that, days later, they read this headline in the official newspaper NO PINTCHA: "We are going to keep the one-party system."

The French Socialist Model

With the exception of the "Bafata Movement"—which seems to be organized mainly in Lisbon and of which I found no evidence in the interior of the country—no one is demanding, at least not publicly, the immediate creation of new parties. It is understandable that things should be this way. First, Nino and the PAIGC have never stopped exercising power in a markedly authoritarian style that does little to encourage direct confrontations. Second, as the leaders are the first to admit, Guinea-Bissau is more a mosaic of several dozen ethnic groups and tribes than a nation with an identity of its own—a situation that could completely undermine the logic of a multiparty democracy. Then too, as Agnelo Regalla, the recently installed secretary of state for information, pointed out, "the case of our neighbor Senegal, where the opposition leader was recently arrested, shows that just because there are parties it does not mean there is democracy."

The political experience of Senegal—followed daily by everyone who has a television set—is not serving as a

model, not even for the most openminded elements of the PAIGC and civilian society. While not rejecting multipartyism, these groups—who are led by prestigious figures in the regime such as “Manecas” and Filinto de Barros—assign the highest priority to “guaranteeing individual rights and freedoms.” This, in their view, implies the abolition of the death penalty, whose “days are numbered,” they say. They also propose the democratization of the one-party system. The objective would be to make the party a “sort of national forum, open to all competent individuals and the widest possible variety of schools of thought.”

Nino himself is not too far from accepting his idea when he admits the possibility of “the expression of divergent views within the party, but without ethnic connotations.” The model to which the president usually refers fondly is that of the French Socialist Party.

It would seem that democratic socialism’s days are numbered. It is accused of being the principal factor behind the amorphism that has taken root in the PAIGC, which appears increasingly unable to attract and mobilize followers.

Military Clout

If there is unanimity on any subject in Guinea-Bissau, it is on the decisive role played by Nino Vieira in every area of power. And Nino appears to fall into line with those who desire an acceleration of political transformation—at least that is the way the fans of the change describe him. At any rate, political life in Bissau proceeds at the slow pace typical of the region.

While, elsewhere—especially in neighboring Cape Verde—one breathes an atmosphere of genuine excitement, the last time there was any news in Guinea-Bissau was 6 April when Nino Vieira announced the convocation of a special congress of the PAIGC. “Since then, we have heard nothing at all,” a political observer complained.

The timetable that had been outlined for recent weeks has yet to be followed. Two plenary sessions of the commission on reflection, which were to be held in April in Bissau and Bafata, did not take place. And there has been nothing about the Central Committee meeting that is supposed to set the date and objectives of the special congress.

A plausible explanation for the delay is the recent border dispute with Senegal. That seems to have caused the influence of the military wing of the regime to come to the forefront; it is always nervous and mistrustful when faced with any situation that is the least bit unstable.

Jealously guarding the laurels acquired in the name of the armed struggle, the military, headed by Minister of the Armed Forces Col. Iafai Camara still has direct and privileged access to Nino Vieira, who does not forget that, in the last analysis, the military are responsible for his being in power. And the truth is that despite the

passage of time, the ministries of security and defense still consume the same slice of the national budget as those of education and health combined...

Civilian Society Comes Alive

Blue jeans, an impeccably starched light blue shirt, and a very nice plaid tie. On the white walls of the large room, an air conditioner, the inevitable portrait of Nino, and the diploma from the ISE. At 33, Vitor Mandinga is one of Guinea-Bissau’s most promising private businessmen. Once a Trotskyite in Lisbon, he was active in the LIC [International Communist League] and the MES [Movement of the Socialist Left]. Back in Bissau, he spent nine months in prison in 1985, the “year of confusion”; today he heads up the newborn Chamber of Commerce, which he promises to make into an employers’ organization.

The headquarters of the GETA [no expansion found] is exemplary in two ways. First, it shows that it’s possible to build an entrepreneurial project from the ground up. Second, it attests to the absence of infrastructure in this country. Right next door to Bissau, the company still had to provide everything itself: sewers, water, electricity, telephones, streets. “What can you do? These are the deficiencies of the state. If we had not done it ourselves, we wouldd never have gotten off the ground!”

A blend of Manjaco and Mandinga, with a little Chinese blood mixed in, Vitor was born in Bafata, where he inherited an aptitude for commerce. Son of a pharmacist and a midwife, he had an unusually good education: his father managed to send 11 of his 19 children on to higher education.

GETA started out with a \$60,000 loan from a Portuguese businessman and the enthusiasm of the Mandinga brothers. Now, four years after it was established, it is already a small empire. Besides the shipping and commercial agencies, it holds seven percent of the capital in the International Bank of Guinea, has an office in Switzerland, and is getting ready to open a supermarket. However, its major strategic investment, now under construction, is the first plant for shelling cashews, the principal source of cash in this one-crop country.

Organize the Employers

Vitor Mandinga is a successful businessman. At the Tabanca restaurant he sits at the best table during a “Cape Verdian night” that features Fatima Spencer and Alexandre “Estofador” vying for the applause for the typical Cape Verdian “mornas” and “coladeras.” The television station selected him for a one-hour interview on private enterprise. Officials ask his advice—even though, a year ago, the more dogmatic vetoed his candidacy as an independent deputy.

“I am not against the idea of having more parties,” he said, going on to emphasize the “the political power must be strong, well-organized, and competent. Strong,

however, does not mean authoritarian, but democratic. That is why the party must open up more, and right away!"

GETA is the largest private enterprise in the export field. There are others in the field and, challenged by the regime, launched the Chamber of Commerce. The board of directors was formed in November; the presidency went to one of the oldest men, Aldje Manuel Mane, who once held a high post in the colonial administration.

The idea, explains Mandinga—who is one of the vice presidents, is "to represent the entire private business community, the only sector of this society that was not organized." The by-laws await the blessing of the Council of Ministers, but the former leftist revolutionary militant does not believe there will be "any problems."

Minister Presides Over Association Plenary

It is already past quitting time at the Ministry of Justice on Amilcar Cabral Avenue. Unhurriedly, I climb the two long flights of stairs to Mario Cabral's office. "The comrade minister cannot talk to you, he is in the courtroom," the secretary argues. Beyond the open door, the minister is presiding over a meeting that does not look anything like a trial. Some 20 people are involved, while a small ceiling fan tries in vain to cool the hot late afternoon air. I realize it is the Bar Association; I had heard the notice of the meeting on Radio Nacional.

You can count on the fingers of one hand the attorneys who remained in Guinea-Bissau after independence. Legal matters were not exactly one of the priorities of the new regime. It was only three years ago that the new lawyers began to arrive, after being trained at schools as diverse as those of Portugal, Cuba, France, and the Soviet Union.

Helena Nasolini is one of the very few women who hold a law degree. At 28, a mestiza of "Portuguese, Italian, Cape Verdian, and Guinean blood"—as she smilingly defines herself—she studied in Lisbon on a scholarship from the State Secretariat of Cooperation. She is a member of the legal department of Banco Nacional, has a small private law practice, and is preparing to teach at the Law School.

Law has not yet been formally recognized as a liberal profession, but it is a field that definitely has a future. "When the economy starts to work, there is always a lot to do," Helena explains. She confirms that it is the general opinion among the attorneys that many of the measures taken in the economic field "are of doubtful constitutionality."

It is the desire of the regime to strengthen what the president terms "the legal apparatus." The previous structure has been completely swept away and it is hoped that the new minister, despite being an agronomist will, as he himself told me in jest, "make the judiciary mature quickly." So far, legal technicians have been appointed

to traditionally politicized bodies such as the Office of Attorney General of the Republic and the Supreme Court of Justice.

If the avowed intention to build a state of law is sincere, then the lawyers will have their hands full. The government encourages the formation of the Bar Association; the draft by-laws have been submitted for approval by the Council of Ministers.

Liberalization Has Come to Medicine

In a similar situation are the embryonic associations of engineers, architects, and physicians.

Justino Fadia is one of the 80 Guinean doctors. From the Jacanca ethnic group, 35 years old, he is the driving force behind Solafri, the first private outpatient clinic; it began operating this past January. "There is nothing like private enterprise: people who pay demand good care," explains Fadia, who got his medical degree in Havana but chose Lisbon to study ophthalmology, a field in which he is Guinea-Bissau's only specialist.

Liberalization has also come to medicine, and the new minister of public health has already promised her full support. The remodeling of the administration stole her away from the Ministry of Civil Service and Labor, where she had acquitted herself very well. Henriqueta Gomes, 47, is known among her colleagues in the Executive Branch as "our Mrs. Thatcher." Educated in Lisbon at the former ISCSPU [Higher Institute of Social and Political Science] she assumes her new duties as "a technocrat" who is neither a member of the Central Committee nor a deputy.

The ministries of health and justice were criticized by Nino when the new government was sworn in on 9 March. "I hope that the example which has been set, especially in the area of Health, is not followed." The new minister immediately met with physicians in the capital city and drew up a list of priorities. One was the creation of the Medical Association—an embryo that the minister is counting on to serve as a "qualified interlocutor."

Journalists Discover the Fourth Estate

In the early years the enthusiasm, creativity, and professionalism of a handful of cadres took the ministry of information in Guinea-Bissau to a high point. Soon, however, it entered into a decline. NO PINTCHA, the country's only newspaper (published three times a week) did not appear for months; Radio Nacional, which in 1977 had won the award as the best radio station in West Africa, is nothing but an embarrassed shadow of its former self.

Journalists got excited again when Experimental Television (TVE-GB) went on the air. "We rediscovered our taste for news and reporting," says Ligio Monteiro, assistant director of information, who studied journalism for five years in Rio de Janeiro.

TVE has all the idiosyncrasies of an official information organization, but you do find critical and independent reports alongside the propaganda. TV coverage of poor care at the Simao Mendes Hospital was enough to bring about the immediate dismissal of the doctor in charge. Another time it was a report on the incredibly large holes in the road leading to the television studio; they did not have to wait long for the street to be repaired...

The journalists, the government, and the public are discovering the value of information. Some who have caught the spirit are already thinking about starting a private FM radio station. New Secretary of State for Information Nelo Regalla—back in action after three years on the shelf—is trying to encourage quality and independence. Journalism is making a timid reappearance in Guinea-Bissau.

[Box pp 46-47] The Supreme Art of Rehabilitation

At the wheel of a brand-new white 4L with no license plate, he greets just about everyone, waves to every policeman, and talks incessantly. He is the press adviser to Nino Vieira. Very few know his name, because everyone calls him by his nickname: Cancan. A mestizo, he studied law sporadically in Lisbon, and media communications in the GDR. With a mixture of pride and vanity, he boasts of being the "best-known journalist in Guinea-Bissau."

Prior to independence, he was Ramalho Eanes' chauffeur; afterward, he became an adviser to Luis Cabral. He was already an adviser to Nino in 1986 when he was arrested on suspicion of involvement in the alleged coup by Paulo Correia. Jailed for 11 months, "the most difficult part of my life," he was later found innocent by the Military Tribunal. This was followed by a fairly long and rather difficult journey through the desert.

Finally, Nino invited him back as press adviser—an invitation which, "flattered by that proof of personal and political trust," Cancan immediately accepted. Never has he been as influential as he is now. Principal speechwriter, and top aide in presidential interviews, he has since assumed the additional office of director general of the Office of the President.

Cancan is one of the many examples of the prevailing philosophy that calls for rehabilitation of leaders and officials who, at one time or another in the tumultuous Guinean political life, fell into disgrace. This is perhaps the most visible political sign that something is changing in Guinea-Bissau. It used to be that dissent could mean ostracism, purging, prison...or even death.

Rehabilitation is both a pragmatic and prudent policy. Pragmatic, in light of the well-known shortage of qualified technical and political personnel. Prudent, since, as one of the strong men of the regime explained to me, "it reduces potential sources of friction and hostilities."

Saude Maria and Mario Cabral

Minister of Foreigners since independence, Vitor Saude Maria assumed in May 1982 the additional position of president of the Council of Ministers. Two years later, he was dismissed from the government, expelled from the party, and persecuted on the grounds of "factionalism and base treason." He took refuge in the Embassy of Portugal but later turned himself in voluntarily and underwent a lengthy period of house arrest.

Last March, Nino went to see him at the modest tavern which he had opened in the intervening years. To everyone's shock, Nino appointed him president of the city council of Bissau—a city where the facelift done prior to the recent visits by Mario Soares (in November) and Pope John Paul II (in January) could not hide the chaos in city management.

Also imprisoned—for 10 days in 1986—was Mario Cabral. After his innocence had been confirmed, he refused to reassume his post as minister of commerce and tourism, convinced that the suspicions about his alleged participation in the plot by Balanta leader Paulo Correia had originated within the ministry.

Finding himself stuck on the second string since then—as minister resident for the northern province—Mario Cabral has now risen to a position that plays a decisive role in the democratic transmutation of the regime: Minister of Justice.

Help for Paulo Correia's Widow

With the obvious exception of the six who were shot to death in June 1986 (and the others who died in prison before being tried), all the nearly 50 defendants connected with the alleged coup d'état have now been freed—either because they have served their sentence, or as beneficiaries of successive amnesties.

Nino was one of those who tried hardest to cure, when possible, the plague that put the name of Guinea-Bissau on the list of shame prepared every year by Amnesty International on arbitrary imprisonments, torture, and executions.

There is no military officer, member of the government, or party leader who neglects to point out, with relief, that "There have not been any political prisoners in our country since January." Some of the former inmates seem to be fairly well reintegrated into civilian society. The most frequently cited example is Paulo Correia's widow, who now runs a popular ice cream parlor in the center of Bissau—an enterprise in which, she says, she had the discreet financial backing of Nino himself.

'Nomenklatura' Protects Itself

The list of the rehabilitated is a long one and contains some inexplicable contradictions. This is the case, for example, with Aristides Menezes. He was jailed during the year of arbitrary actions (1986) and holds the post of

secretary of state for planning in the present administration but, during last June's elections for the National People's Assembly, his candidacy was vetoed by the party apparatus.

At the same time, the "nomenklatura" makes prodigious and successful efforts to keep itself in power. The last cabinet remodeling was instructive in this regard: a respectable and suitable place was reserved—in the party hierarchy, the apparatus of the state, or some embassy—for all those who were "dismissed." No one can complain of having been left out. Nino does not want to make enemies.

Liberia

Rebels Advance; U.S. Missionaries Released

AB2506161390 Paris AFP in English 1557 GMT
25 Jun 90

[Text] Monrovia, June 25 (AFP)—Rebels fighting to overthrow the government of Liberian President Samuel Doe over the weekend captured a state-run university campus, some 14 miles (22 kilometres) from the capital, a local resident was quoted here Monday as saying.

The resident, who fled the area and asked not to be named, told a local newspaper that the National Patriotic Front (NPLF) rebels captured Fendell University campus after exchanging fire with government forces for about 30 minutes.

He added that the rebels had said they will hold the campus until they had heard the outcome of peace talks due to be held Monday in Freetown, capital of neighbouring Sierra Leone.

The result of the church-mediated talks between government officials and the NPLF of fugitive former civil servant Charles Taylor would determine whether or not the rebels would make further advances on Monrovia, he added.

Several professors from the Fendell campus were said to be stranded or have taken refuge in the bush. A 72-seater bus on its way last Friday to evacuate the academic staff was stopped at a nearby checkpoint by soldiers who said it was not safe to travel further. On Thursday, the NPLF captured Careysburg, the last major town on the way to Monrovia, some 18 miles (29 miles) from here.

The opposition Liberian People's Party (LPP) meanwhile called Monday on Mr. Doe immediately to resign, saying that his departure would mark the beginning of a settlement to the rebellion, which began last December.

A statement signed by LPP acting chairman, John Karweaye, also proposed the creation of a negotiated interim government of national unity that would represent various socio-political groupings in the country.

The LPP was banned by Mr. Doe's government in 1984 for what authorities called preaching "foreign ideology",

a term used by officials to mean socialism or communism. Mr. Doe lifted the ban last week.

In a related development, the Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) Church in Liberia said four U.S. missionaries captured by rebels forces when they took over Kakata about a month ago were last week released near the border with Ivory Coast.

SDA head Oswald Gordon said the missionaries had informed him they were "well and safe" in the Ivory Coast. The missionaries have been identified as pastor Floyd Penstock and his wife, and Francis Chase and his wife.

They were in charge of the SDA's Konala academy with more than 300 boarding students.

Reverend Gordon also said several SDA missions have been closed down due to fighting between government troops and the NPFL: SDA high school in Buchanan, Zontuo SDA mission and Sanniquellie SDA mission in Nimba County and the SDA mission in Rivercess County.

The SDA mission high school in Monrovia has also been closed down, like all other schools in and around the capital. The SDA mission in Voinjama, Lofa County in northwestern Liberia, remained open, he said.

In another development Monday, the independent DUKPA newspaper said Mr. Doe's presidential aircraft, which left here two month ago, had been impounded in London because of two lawsuits against the government.

Philips Brothers of London is said to have filed a lawsuit for failure to provide about four million dollars worth of produce already paid for, the paper said. The Liberia produce marketing corporation is said to have received the money but failed to provide the goods.

The second lawsuit was said to have been filed by the Liberia National Petroleum Corporation for the failure of the Liberian Government to pay 20 million dollars owed the company for petroleum supplied.

Government officials said the plane was in London for "servicing", but could not say when it was due back.

Release of Missionaries Confirmed

AB2506201390 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
1705 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Four American missionaries of the Seventh Day Adventist Church, SDA, who were captured by the Patriotic Front in Kakata, were last weekend released near the Ivorian-Liberian border. The OBSERVER newspaper identified the missionaries as Pastor Floyd Penstock of the SDA Church of Konala Academy, his wife, Mrs. Penstock, Mr. Francis Chase, principal of Konala Academy and Mrs Chase.

They were taken to the border with Cote d'Ivoire where they were allowed into the country. According to the

paper, the president of the SDA Church in Liberia, Reverend Oswald Gordon, indicated that the missionaries have informed him that they are well and safe in Cote d'Ivoire. But Reverend Gordon said that the Liberian staff at Konala and other SDA-operated missions in the affected areas are stranded.

Rebel Spokesman Says Interim Government Formed
*AB2506180490 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 25 Jun 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Peace talks to end Liberia's civil war were due to resume in Freetown, Sierra Leone, this morning. The government delegation, led by Minister of Information Emmanuel Bowier left Monrovia for Freetown over the weekend. Church mediators called in Ivory Coast to speak to the leader of the National Patriotic Front rebel, Charles Taylor, and then went on to Freetown. But, it seems that the rebels themselves have not turned up in Freetown. On the line to Ivory Coast, Robin White asked National Patriotic Front spokesman Tom Woewiyu why not.

[Begin recording] [Woewiyu] We are not committed to wasting money and time following empty ventures. Doe does not want to negotiate his exit, and therefore, we are now going to waste no time going on to Freetown just to sit there and talk.

[White] How do you know that? I mean, the Liberian Government team has gone there. How do you know what their stand is?

[Woewiyu] Well, Mr. Taylor met with the church leaders last night, and when they met with him, there was nothing indicating that Doe is ready to leave, so we are going to go ahead to pursue our plan of action and end this thing once for all.

[White] You mean you are going out to fight?

[Woewiyu] Yes, we are. We are going to take Monrovia and close the subject down.

[White] Has that order already gone out?

[Woewiyu] Well, that is in progress even to the extent that we have formed the government to replace this old gun regime. And the government is formed and cabinet ministers are being targeted. So we will put in the government in place in a few days to come. [sentence as heard]

[White] Has Charles Taylor already gone back to Liberia to the bush?

[Woewiyu] Yes.

[White] And you say you have already set up an interim government and will announce that shortly?

[Woewiyu] Yes, an interim government has been set up. In fact, I can tell you what the name is. It is called the National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly.

[White] Can I ask you if there are people outside the Patriotic Front who are in the interim government that you are about to name?

[Woewiyu] Yes, most of..... [changes thought] We are naming 13 people, one from each of the 13 counties that are not involved with the Patriotic Front.

[White] Have these people agreed to be in the government?

[Woewiyu] Well, in terms of the cabinet, we have discussed that with each of those who will serve in the cabinet. The cabinet is now totally formed. The people that will serve on the assembly from each of the counties have not been named yet. They will be spoken to before they are named but the concept of having each county represented in the assembly is already a (?fact).

[White] Have you picked anybody who is currently in Monrovia?

[Woewiyu] There are people in Monrovia that will be serving, yes of course. There are people in Monrovia that will serve in the government; this whole effort is to free the country for people in Monrovia, give peace to people outside Monrovia, Liberians all over the world to come home and build their country. It has nothing to do with any particular group having access to government.

[White] Yes, but if you start naming people who are currently in Monrovia are you not putting their lives at risk?

[Woewiyu] But, I have not named anyone so far.

[White] So, can I just clarify this: You are definitely not going back to the peace talks in Sierra Leone?

[Woewiyu] Well, I am in the area, I am still in Africa right now, I am in an hour's flight from Sierra Leone. If we were told and if Mr. Doe comes on the air, like he says he is gonna make a speech today and he says that he is leaving and he begs us to negotiate his exit, then maybe I will go to Sierra Leone, and we will talk about that. But we are not going to waste our time with Bowier and some other people sitting there and thinking that this is a party or something.

[White] And the war starts again as of now, you are saying?

[Woewiyu] It started a long time ago and it is going to continue from now on until this comes to an end. [end recording]

Says Offensive Will Continue

AB2506203090 Paris AFP in English 2011 GMT
25 Jun 90

[Text] Abidjan, June 25 (AFP)—Rebels of the National Patriotic Front (NPFL) have pulled out of scheduled peace talks with the Liberian government and instead will continue their offensive on Monrovia, a rebel spokesman said here Monday.

The rebel spokesman, Tom Woewiyu, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE in the Ivory Coast capital that Liberian President Samuel Doe had failed to meet NPFL demands prior to the talks.

"As a consequence we see no reason for going to Freetown," where the second round of talks had been due to take place Monday, he said.

The first round of church-mediated talks held at the U.S. Embassy in Freetown was adjourned June 16 without a cease-fire agreement in the bloody six-month civil war.

The NPFL rebels launched their bid to unseat Mr. Doe in December in northeastern Nimba county and have since advanced to within 20 miles (30 kilometers) of the capital Monrovia.

Nigeria

Lagos Reports Aid Airlift for Liberian Refugees

AB2206201490 Lagos Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] President Ibrahim Babangida has directed the minister of external affairs to arrange for the urgent airlift of relief materials for Liberian refugees in Sierra Leone. The airlift of the materials, which are food, clothing, and medicaments, is to start next Sunday. President Babangida gave the directive today after receiving an account of the plight of the refugees from a special envoy of President Joseph Momoh of Sierra Leone. The envoy, Dr. Sheka Kanu, who is also the Sierra Leonean minister of development and economic planning, had briefed the president on the difficulty in coping with the massive influx of Liberian refugees without any forthcoming assistance from the UN and other international relief agencies.

President Babangida reiterated Nigeria's concern on the ongoing crisis in Liberia and stressed that Nigeria was anxious that steps be taken to avert more bloodshed and saving innocent Liberian citizens from further suffering. To this end, Nigeria would want concrete actions taken on the mediation machinery proposed at the last Economic Community of West African State [ECOWAS] summit in Banjul.

Sierra Leone

'Growing Doubt' Liberian Talks Will Resume

AB2306183090 Paris AFP in English 1820 GMT
23 Jun 90

[Text] Freetown, June 23 (AFP)—Ahmed Haggag, deputy secretary general of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), is to arrive here Sunday to meet Sierra Leone officials and the parties involved in scheduled Liberian peace talks. Mr. Haggag is scheduled to meet with Acting President Salia Jusu Cheriff and Sierra Leone Deputy Foreign Minister Bu Buakei-Jabbie during his stay here, officials said. He is also expected to hold talks Monday with various parties involved in the Liberian peace negotiations, which adjourned in Freetown on June 16.

Officials and diplomatic sources in Freetown said Saturday there is growing doubt here that the talks will actually resume Monday. But if the talks are held, it would be the first direct OAU involvement in the six-month-old civil war.

The OAU has repeatedly said that the Liberian civil strife is an internal matter, and it is not known whether both parties will agree to an OAU role in the peace talks. The talks are to bring together representatives of the Liberian Government, the rebel National Patriotic Front of Liberia, and the Liberian Council of Churches which is mediating the dispute.

Liberian Government Delegation Arrives for Talks

AB2406160290 Paris AFP in English 1537 GMT
24 Jun 90

[Text] Freetown, June 24 (AFP)—Liberian Government officials arrived here Sunday on the eve of the second round of peace talks with the rebel National Patriotic Front (NPFL). "We came to make peace and that's what's going to happen," Information Minister Emmanuel Bowier told journalists shortly after his arrival with the other members of the delegation aboard a chartered plane from Monrovia.

He said the religious leaders who are acting as mediators in the talks had left the Liberian capital Saturday, but they had not registered in any of the Freetown hotels Sunday. The last round of peace talks aimed at ending the six-month insurgency adjourned June 16 without a cease-fire agreement but with a promise by both sides to "exercise self-restraint in the use of military force."

Mr. Bowier said the Sierra Leonean Government, as hosts of the talks, would inform them where the deliberations would be held. Last week's negotiations were held at the U.S. Embassy here. There was no word on when the NPFL delegation would arrive.

Meanwhile, members of the Liberian opposition United People's Party (UPP), led by Baccus Matthews, arrived here Sunday. An Organisation of African Unity (OAU)

delegation was expected to arrive Sunday, airport and government officials said. NPFL rebels led by fugitive former Liberian Government official Charles Taylor launched their bid to oust President Samuel Doe in December in northeastern Nimba County. They are now within 20 miles (50 kilometers) of the Liberian capital.

OAU 'Very Concerned' About Liberian Situation

*AB2406185090 Paris AFP in English 1840 GMT
24 Jun 90*

[Text] Freetown, June 24 (AFP)—An Organization of African Unity (OAU) delegation arrived here Sunday on the eve of the second round of peace talks between the Liberian government and National Patriotic Front (NPFL) rebels. OAU assistant secretary-general Ahmed Haggag, who is leading the delegation, said the pan-African organization was "very concerned about the situation in Liberia, especially the great loss of life."

"We believe there can be an African solution to this problem," he told journalists shortly after his arrival from neighboring Guinea on a Ghana Airways flight. He said the OAU was not in Freetown as an observer to the talks but rather "to have some contacts with the Sierra Leone Government, to get acquainted with its views and its role." "The OAU cannot be on any mediating mission unless it is specifically mandated to do so and at the request of the concerned parties," he said.

Mr. Haggag said he and OAU political advisor Etul Mpwtsh Ngung went to Monrovia last week at the request of Liberian President Samuel Doe to discuss the peace process. He said they would leave Freetown late Monday for Accra after meeting with Sierra Leone Foreign Ministry officials.

The OAU official added that they were "consulting all officials" in the region "because we want to see all the countries surrounding Liberia take an active role in finding a solution" to the insurgency launched in December by Charles Taylor's NPFL rebels. He said the OAU welcomed Nigeria's offer to mediate in the talks "since Nigeria is an important country, and they can contribute positively to finding a solution."

Mr. Haggag stressed however the "positive role" played by the impartial Inter-Faith Mediating Committee of Liberian religious leaders who "have the trust of both sides." The OAU leader also commended Sierra Leone for hosting the talks, which adjourned June 16 without a cease-fire agreement.

Mr. Haggag hoped that the negotiations "will continue until a peace settlement is reached." "We urge all parties to a maximum restraint because any bloodshed will lead to a very great sacrifice to the Liberian people," he said.

He said the OAU hoped both sides would allow badly needed humanitarian aid to flow "without obstruction" to the more than "tens of thousands" of displaced Liberians many of whom have fled to Ivory Coast, Guinea and Sierra Leone. The NPFL rebels are now within 20 miles (30 kilometers) of Monrovia.

Earlier Sunday, the Liberian Government delegation to the peace talks arrived here as well as members of the opposition United People's Party (UPP) led by Baccus Matthews. Mr. Haggag said the religious mediators told him they would also arrive in Freetown on Sunday. He said the OAU had no plans to meet representatives of the NPFL.

Observers here were wondering meanwhile if the rebels, who have scored important military gains since the first round of talks, would turn up for the deliberations. The rebels maintain their position that there will be no cease-fire accord unless Mr. Doe, who took power in a bloody coup in April 1980, resigns.

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